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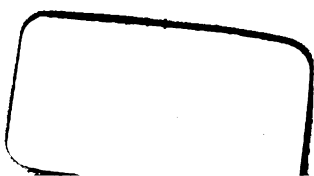
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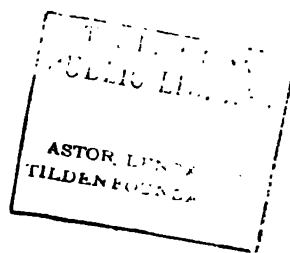
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IX

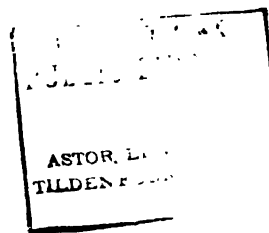
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MRS. MURRAY DELAYING THE BRITISH OFFICERS



THE STORY OF THE GREATEST NATIONS

FROM THE DAWN OF HISTORY
TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY, FOUNDED UPON THE LEADING
AUTHORITIES, INCLUDING A COMPLETE CHRONOLOGY OF THE
WORLD, AND A PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF EACH NATION

BY
EDWARD S. ELLIS, A.M.

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COUNTRY," "A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE WORLD," "A SCHOOL
HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES," ETC.

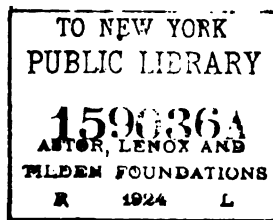
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AND
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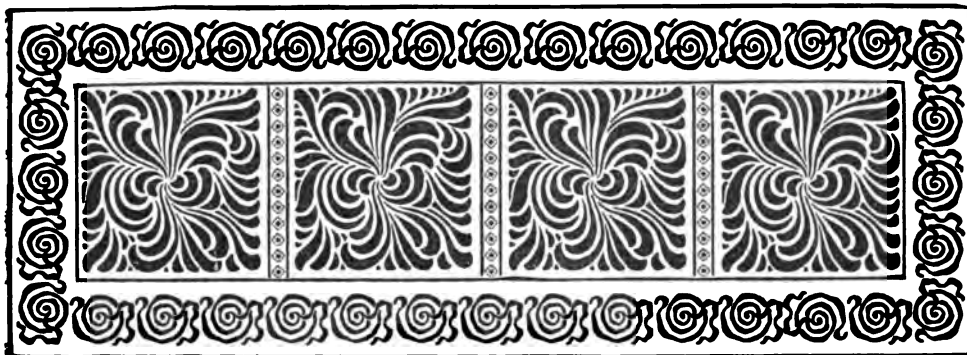


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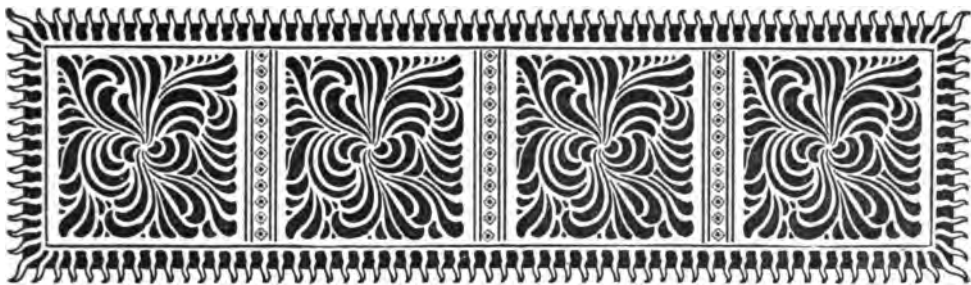
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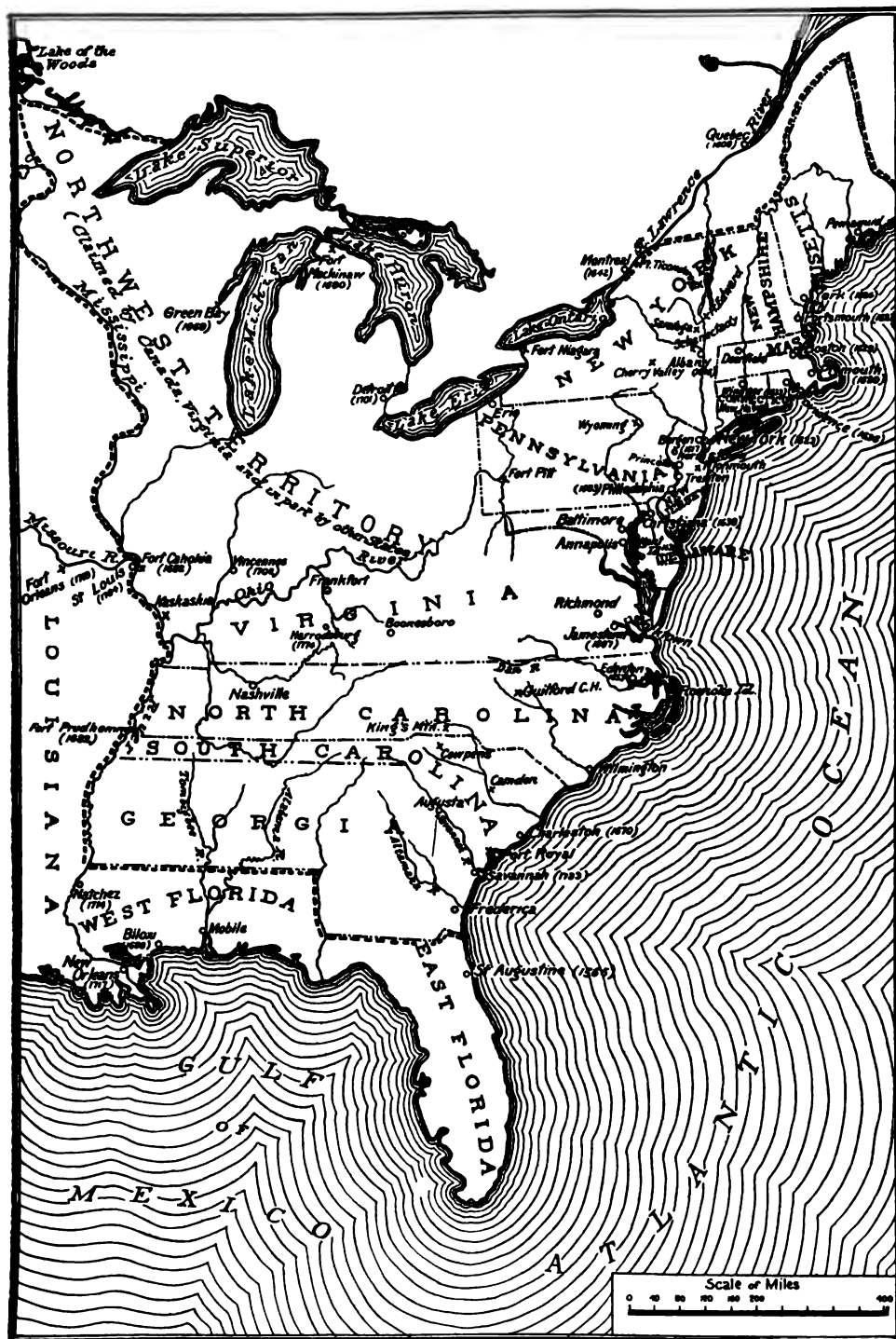
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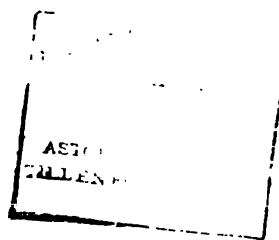
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THE THIRTEEN STATES OF 1776





OGLETHORPE AMONG HIS HIGHLAND COLONISTS

Chapter VIII

THE LATER COLONIES

[*Authorities:* Sanborn, "New Hampshire"; Arnold, "Rhode Island"; Johnston, "Connecticut"; Raum, "New Jersey"; Sewell, "History of the Quakers"; Egle, "Pennsylvania"; Scharf, "Delaware," "Maryland"; Browne, "Maryland"; Moore, "North Carolina"; MacCrady, "South Carolina"; Jones, "Georgia"; Baird, "Huguenot Emigration to America."]



F the other colonies which united to give our flag its original thirteen stars, we can speak but briefly. New Hampshire had a little fur-trading settlement at Rye, now Portsmouth, as early as 1622. Dover, the capital, was settled in 1628 by English Puritans. Exeter and other towns were planted by religious exiles from Massachusetts Bay.

In 1620 the whole territory of what is now New Hampshire had been granted by the Virginia Company to John Mason and Ferdinand Gorges. They made a settlement at Portsmouth in 1630, and claimed jurisdiction over the little towns previously established. This caused almost endless trouble, and upon the death of Mason, who had become sole proprietor, his heirs showed no desire to assert a right to his unprofitable inheritance. The colonists were left to themselves. After considerable quarrelling with the Indians and with each other, several of the towns applied to Massachusetts Bay to extend over them her government and protection. This was done. The many and various religious views of the inhabitants were not interfered with, and they were ruled with marked discretion until 1679, when King Charles, to weaken Massachusetts, made New Hampshire into a separate royal province.

The settlers accepted perforce the undesired division, and the first assembly which was convened at Portsmouth sent word to Massachusetts: "We thankfully acknowledge your kindness while we dwelt under your shadow, owning ourselves deeply obliged that, on our earnest request, you took us under your government, and ruled us well. . . . We crave the benefit of your prayers on us, who are separated from our brethren."

About the same time Robert Mason and others, the heirs of John Mason, seeing that New Hampshire had now become a valuable property, reasserted their claims upon it. King Charles sided with them, and in 1682 sent out as governor of the province Edward Cranfield, who was in reality an agent or partner of Robert Mason. Under Cranfield's adroit management, the courts of New Hampshire declared Mason to be owner of most of the colony; but he could obtain neither rents nor estates from the defiant settlers. Neither could Governor Cranfield raise the taxes he arbitrarily imposed. At Exeter, his sheriff was driven off with clubs. Farmers' wives chased the officials with scalding water; and when Cranfield summoned the militia to suppress the rioting, not a soldier answered the call.

Cranfield withdrew to England in disgust, and New Hampshire was reunited to Massachusetts. The two were again separated, again united, and finally permanently divided in 1741. In 1749 the New Hampshire people purchased the rights of the Mason heirs, and so at last secured undisputed possession of their homes.

Rhode Island was settled by Roger Williams. This truly remarkable man was a Welsh minister who came to America in 1631. At first he was very welcome in Massachusetts Bay, and in 1633 was made pastor of the Salem church. His doctrines, however, soon proved unacceptable to the ministers who ruled the colony. He declared that the church and state should be separate, and men should be allowed to believe as their consciences dictated, without interference of law. He was, in fact, one of the first apostles of religious toleration, a mind a century or more in advance of even the earnest and thoughtful Puritans.

Another awkward announcement by Williams was that neither the King nor the Virginia Company, nor any other English power, had the right to grant lands in America; that the only way the settlers could honestly acquire them was by purchase from the original owners, the Indians.

One of these uncomfortable doctrines would have destroyed the power of the ministerial theocracy; the other would have placed every white land-owner at the mercy of sharp tricksters who could sway the Indians. As Williams refused to be silenced, he was banished. To escape being sent by force to England, he fled into the wilderness in the dead of winter. The Indians knew



WILLIAMS WELCOMED TO PROVIDENCE BY THE INDIANS



him as a friend, for he had already preached among them. They protected the almost perishing man, and led him to Massasoit, who gladly welcomed him.

In the following spring Williams, with five followers, penetrated southward into the land of the Narragansetts, preached among them, and formed a little settlement, which in gratitude to God for his preservation, he named Providence. Following his announced doctrines, Williams purchased the land of his settlement from the Narragansetts, and allowed religious freedom within its limits. Naturally Providence became the refuge for all whom the stern bigotry of Massachusetts sought to persecute. Anne Hutchinson, a beautiful, eloquent, and energetic woman, whose religious doctrines for a time found great favor in Boston, was banished in 1637; and with Williams's help she and her followers founded Rhode Island's second settlement at Newport. Later Williams secured a charter from England, allowing these and other little settlements in their neighborhood to form a single colony, making whatever laws they saw fit.

With this liberal permission, with Williams as its guide, and with the continued friendship of its Indian benefactors, the colony prospered steadily, though its fanatic immigrants sometimes caused serious religious tumult, and the other New England settlements long looked on Rhode Island as a gathering of anarchistic rebels, men utterly devoid of all true religion. It was excluded from the league of the "United Colonies of New England" and it took little part even in King Philip's War, though Providence was burned during one of the Indian raids. The charter which Charles II. conferred on the little colony in 1662, was so liberal that it remained the law long after Rhode Island became a State in the American Union.

Connecticut, as we have seen, was also settled from Massachusetts Bay, though the Dutch early established a trading post on the Connecticut River near Hartford. In 1635, a considerable number of the Massachusetts settlers, dissatisfied with the narrow rule of the Puritan ministers, moved westward into the wilderness. They advanced in patriarchal fashion, going but a few miles a day, and driving their flocks and herds before them. Their principal leaders were the Reverend Thomas Hooker and John Winthrop, a son of Massachusetts' first governor, and one of the ablest men of the period. The wanderers settled in the towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield in Connecticut.

The three towns soon united to form a commonwealth of their own. Massachusetts acknowledged its independence; and under Winthrop's wise leadership the colony became the second greatest in New England in population, wealth, and general culture and prosperity.

In the opposition to England, Connecticut was neither so stubborn as Massachusetts, nor so submissive as Rhode Island. Nevertheless, she was

most anxious to retain the charter which Winthrop had secured for her, and when in 1686 Andros was appointed governor of all New England, Connecticut made futile resistance. Andros appeared at Hartford in 1687, to demand the treasured charter. Legend says that the Connecticut officials pleaded with him through a long, dreary October afternoon. Lights had to be brought in, to where the charter lay upon the table among the disputants. Suddenly the lights were extinguished; and when they were relit, the charter had disappeared. According to the story, the precious document had been carried off by its friends and hidden in the hollow of a neighboring oak-tree. This "Charter Oak" was long carefully preserved in Hartford, until its destruction during a great storm in 1856. But any opposition which Andros encountered, was certainly of the briefest, and he ruled the colony unopposed, until Massachusetts shipped him back a prisoner to England.

Turning farther southward, we find New Jersey a part of New Netherland or New York until 1664, when it was given as a separate colony to Lords Berkeley and Carteret, receiving its name from the Island of Jersey in the English Channel, of which Carteret had been governor.

The proprietors granted much of the land to a company of Quakers, and later the colony was divided into West Jersey, the home of the Quakers, and East Jersey, whose population was a mingling of Dutch, Germans, Swedes, New Englanders, Scotch, and English, the last being most numerous. The two sections were reunited in 1702. The colony was vaguely attached to New York until 1738, when the final separation took place and it received a royal governor of its own.

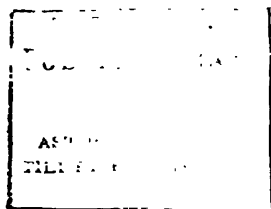
The existence of Delaware as a separate State was almost an accident. This little strip along the southern coast of Delaware Bay was within the district claimed by New Netherland. Both the Dutch and the English made unsuccessful attempts to settle it, but it was first permanently colonized by the Swedes. The greatest of Swedish kings, Gustavus Adolphus, he who wellnigh conquered Germany, laid broad plans for a new Sweden beyond seas.

His death checked these schemes, but in 1638 his successors, carrying out his idea, despatched a colony to Delaware, where they built Fort Christina on the present site of Wilmington. The Dutch fumed, but dared not quarrel with Sweden, until the European power of the latter began to fade. Then Peter Stuyvesant marched an army of several hundred men against prosperous little New Sweden and secured complete possession of it without a blow (1656).

When New Netherland passed to England in 1664, both Jersey and the more southern colony of Maryland claimed the Delaware strip. Its ownership being so doubtful, it slipped through the fingers of both claimants, and was sold to William Penn, thus becoming a part of his Quaker colony of Pennsylvania. Its



PENN WELCOMED TO PHILADELPHIA BY THE OLD DUTCH SETTLERS



people were always dissatisfied with Quaker rule, and their turbulence caused Penn such annoyance that in 1702 he finally agreed to their becoming a separate province, though still under his ownership. His heirs continued as its proprietors until the Revolution, always appointing for it the same governor as for Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania itself was not regularly colonized until 1681, though there were earlier settlers within its limits from both Delaware and Jersey. Then the celebrated William Penn, a man of wealth and prominence in England, determined to devote his life to the establishment of a colony. He was the son of Admiral Penn, one of Britain's naval heroes. On his father's death, the son inherited a large fortune, including a debt of some hundred thousand dollars owed him by King Charles II. Young Penn had previously joined the Quakers, a religious sect much persecuted at the time in both England and America.

Every one marvelled that a young man of his rank and wealth should attach himself to the despised sect, but Penn clung loyally to his faith. He was twice imprisoned for it. Still his sufferings did not begin to approach those of his poorer brethren, and it was for their sake that Penn suggested to the King to cancel his heavy indebtedness by the gift of a province. King Charles gladly consented. The first inland colony was carved out of what had been New York, and the land west of the Delaware River was transferred to Penn. He wished to name his province Sylvania (the Woodlands), but the King in jesting mood insisted that it should be Penn's Sylvania; and though it is said Penn tried to bribe the government officials to omit his name, they dared not disobey the King, and Pennsylvania it became.

The new proprietor promised complete liberty of conscience in his colony, and offered such generous terms to settlers, especially to those of his own faith, that Quakers flocked to Pennsylvania from the first. One of the chief doctrines of their faith was that of non-resistance; they would endure anything rather than fight. Hence it became absolutely necessary for them to secure the friendship of the Indians.

The work did not prove difficult when wisely undertaken. Penn came over to the colony in person, and held a celebrated interview with the Indians at Shackamaxon within the present bounds of Philadelphia. He purchased their land on fair terms, and made so equitable a treaty that they always spoke of him as their great and good friend. Pennsylvania had less trouble with the Indians than any other colony, though from its inland situation it was the most exposed of all.

The thrifty and thoughtful Quakers proved the very best of material for colony making, and Pennsylvania soon became one of the most prosperous and

populous of the settlements. Though founded over half a century later than New York, it soon outstripped the older colony in numbers and in wealth. Its city of Philadelphia became the largest in America, and remained so until after the Revolution.

South of the Quaker colony lay Maryland. This was settled as far back as 1631 by traders from Virginia. It was part of the Virginian territory until King Charles I. divided it and made a separate grant of the northern region to his Catholic friend, Lord Baltimore. It was intended that Maryland should become a refuge for the persecuted English Catholics.

Thus we find yet another religion impelling its sturdiest and most resolute members to seek the free air of America. Is it any wonder that the descendants of these men fought for freedom; any wonder that our land is to-day, and has always been, deeply and earnestly religious?

A well-prepared expedition came out to Maryland in 1634 under Leonard Calvert, a brother of Lord Baltimore. He took possession of the land with solemn religious ceremonies, and built the town of St. Mary. Perhaps we might better say he bought the town from the Indians; for an Indian village was already standing on its site. Calvert purchased the land from its inhabitants, and made so friendly an agreement with them that for months his people lived side by side with the redmen in their wigwams. Then the Indians faithfully completed the terms of the odd bargain, by moving out and leaving their homes to the newcomers.

What shall we say of the black heart of the man who, for personal reasons, destroyed this happy amity? William Clayborne was the leader of the Virginia traders who had previously occupied Maryland. After one brief battle in Chesapeake Bay between his ship and those of Calvert, Clayborne despaired of opposing the powerful colony by force, but he made all the trouble possible. One thing he did, was to tell the Indians that the newcomers held the same religion as the Spaniards, that like them they were kidnappers, and were waiting only for a chance to seize and massacre the trusting redmen. The frightened savages fled, and thereafter Maryland had the same trouble with them as did Virginia.

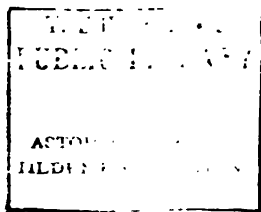
Lord Baltimore did not declare his colony to be solely for Catholics. That would have been like a challenge to invite enmity, and would have made Maryland the target of every Protestant attack upon his faith. He adopted the larger plan of promising religious toleration to all Christians. Under this regulation, Protestants of various sects joined the Catholic settlement, and Governor Calvert made them welcome. For years the people of these two antagonistic faiths lived amicably together on equal terms, a thing almost unheard of in those days of fanaticism. In 1649 the Maryland Legislature even



From *Placers in the Settlement of America*

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CLAYBORNE FIGHTING CALVERT'S SHIPS IN CHESAPEAKE BAY



passed a toleration act confirming the religious liberty already enjoyed. This was the first formal law of its kind in the world.

Unfortunately the law marked, not the confirmation of the great principle of toleration, but the fact that it was in danger of being lost. The Protestants were increasing in numbers and beginning to struggle for supremacy. Clayborne, the colony's old enemy, had returned and taken an active part in fanning the spark into flame. Governor Calvert was compelled to flee from the colony in 1647, and there was a regular civil war with little battles and campaigns.

Calvert was successful in the end, and ruled peacefully till his death; but the dispute survived both him and his successor. In 1689 the Protestants, aided by Virginia, overthrew their rivals. The English Government abolished the Baltimore proprietorship, and the capital was removed from St. Mary to the Protestant town of Annapolis (1694). Catholics were severely persecuted, and the prosperity of the colony suffered, until 1715, when Lord Baltimore's descendants were restored to their rights. These proprietors were proud of the rich domain their ancestor had founded. Under their guidance persecution ceased. Maryland became again a thriving State, and continued so throughout the colonial period.

The extreme southern colonies were less important. North Carolina was settled from Virginia, whose hunters and traders began exploring the region at an early date. The first permanent town was planted in 1653 at Albemarle near the mouth of the Roanoke River, not far from the Virginia border.

Charles II., paying little attention to the earlier settlers, granted the whole of the Carolinas to some of his favorite courtiers in 1663. But the people who had cleared away the wilderness at Albemarle and elsewhere, had no intention of submitting to this new authority, if they could help it. There was constant bickering between them and the proprietors, and the latter, finding a more profitable domain in the southern part of their grant, paid scant heed to these rude woodmen in the north. Lumbering was the main industry among them, towns were few and scattered, insolvent debtors from the other colonies found refuge with worse criminals amid their forests, the navigation laws were evaded by much smuggling, and altogether the North Carolinians developed into a wild and lawless race, hardy fighters, but of a distinctly lower tone than their neighbors in both morals and education.

South Carolina received its first permanent settlement from the West Indian island of Barbadoes, whence a band of several hundred English colonists re-emigrated in 1663 under Sir John Yeamans, and settled along the Cape Fear River. This district, though now included in North Carolina, was long re-

garded as part of the more southern province, and some of the plantations of Yeamans's followers extended far south of Cape Fear.

Then, in 1670, the Charleston district was settled by emigrants sent out from England by the Carolina proprietors. These gentlemen took a great interest in their own special settlement, kept it well supplied with everything needful, and had the celebrated philosopher, John Locke, draft for its government an ideal constitution, called the "Grand Model."

The Grand Model was never put in operation. In fact, it was so absurdly grand and elaborate that the colonists made a jest of it. Still the colony prospered. In 1679, French Huguenots, driven from France by Louis XIV., began to arrive on its shores in such numbers that they gave a distinctly French tone to the province. It soon became the most important of the more southern colonies, had a little war with the Spaniards at St. Augustine, and defended its more feeble neighbors against a formidable Indian outbreak of the Tuscaroras in 1711. The Tuscaroras, completely defeated by the Carolina troops, abandoned their villages and fled northward to New York, where they united with the formidable Iroquois, or "League of the Five Nations," thereafter known as the "Six Nations."

Again, in 1715, a widespread confederacy among the southern Indians threatened South Carolina. Massacre burst upon the settlers. The scattered people fled to Charleston in terror, and Governor Craven, arming every man of the confused mob, marched out against the Indians with over a thousand followers. The redskins were completely defeated, and were pursued till they took refuge among the Spaniards in St. Augustine.

Georgia, most southern of all the colonies, was the last one founded. Its location in the disputed borderland between the English domain and Florida, prevented its use for actual settlement until there was no coast line remaining elsewhere. Both in its foundation and its settlers it differed sharply from the other twelve provinces. It was started as a philanthropic enterprise. General Oglethorpe, one of the noblest of Englishmen, planned it as a refuge for unfortunate debtors, whom the English laws of the period confined in the most cruel imprisonment. In a sudden outburst of charity, all England united in saving these wretched sufferers and giving them another chance to prosper in far-off Georgia, so named in honor of King George. Oglethorpe accepted a grant of the land "in trust for the poor," and himself led the rescued debtors to the new world. They settled at Savannah in 1733.

The constitution given them was liberal, the English Government repeatedly supplied them with lavish assistance, their leader was almost a genius, yet the colony did not thrive. Men who had failed once in life were not of the calibre to conquer the American wilderness, and these Georgians showed in

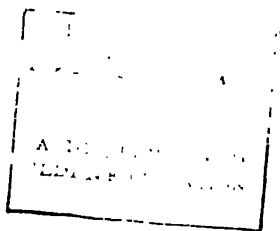


EARLY COLONIAL LEADERS

The Younger Winthrop
The Elder Winthrop
William Penn

Sir Edmund Andros
John Smith
Lord Baltimore

Governor Oglethorpe
Peter Stuyvesant
Sir Harry Vane



pitiable contrast to the more northern settlers. One of their laws forbade the selling of rum, and they were determined to have it both for themselves and for the Indians. Another prohibited the use of slaves, and the settlers insisted that in the warm climate negro slaves were a necessity. Oglethorpe had constant trouble; for, added to the menacing tone of his followers, was the ever-increasing danger from the Spaniards. Finally the governor imported a whole regiment of Scotch Highlanders, and these made him master of the situation. Many of the undesirable debtors fled to other colonies.

The Indians became Oglethorpe's devoted friends, and joined him in a war against Florida, which lasted from 1739 to 1742. As many as five thousand Spanish troops were despatched from Cuba to Florida. Oglethorpe received but slight help from the other colonies, and at one time it seemed as if his little forces were doomed to destruction. But his military strategy saved his colony, and a peace between England and Spain finally made its boundaries secure.

Georgia's great and noble benefactor returned to England the next year (1743), and left the province to govern itself, which it did in very feeble and inefficient fashion. The crown took possession of it a few years later, and conditions began slowly to improve. The unsatisfactory story of Georgia is ever quoted as a most striking proof that the success of a colony depends, not upon the high motives and lavish expenditures of its projectors, but upon the strength, the energy, and the moral character of its actual inhabitants.



PENN'S MANSION IN PHILADELPHIA



INDIANS PREPARING FOR A RAID ON THE COLONISTS

Chapter IX

THE FRENCH POWER IN AMERICA



[Authorities: Parkman, "La Salle," "Count Frontenac," "Montcalm and Wolfe," "Old Regime in Canada," etc.; Roosevelt, "Winning of the West"; Shea, "Discovery and Exploration in the Mississippi Valley"; Warburton, "Conquest of Canada."]

HAVING followed the thirteen colonies through their period of separate development, let us now note the growth of that spirit of union which gradually drew them together and has made of them a single nation. Individually, they were infants; united, they successfully resisted England's greatest efforts, and have become the mighty country so worthy of our love.

The first thought of union rose, as we have seen, in New England, where, as early as 1642, the four colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, formed a confederacy against the Indians and the Dutch. With the surrender of New Amsterdam in 1664, and the practical extermination of the New England Indians in King Philip's War, the necessity for this confederacy disappeared, and it soon afterward disbanded.

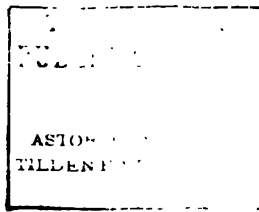
The next attempt at the consolidation of the colonies came from England herself. King James II. seems to have hoped to crush their spirits by ending their separate existence, and his governor, Sir Edmund Andros, was given complete authority over all the land from Maine to Delaware Bay. But the fall of King James dragged down his scheme as well, and the colonies returned instantly to their separate existences.



From "History of Our Country"

MARQUETTE PREACHING TO THE INDIANS

Courtesy of Jones Bros. Pub. Co.



The real impulse toward American union was of later date. It sprang from the wars with the French in Canada. Against these powerful enemies, the various colonies first felt the advantage and even the necessity of mutual assistance. The early struggle with nature and with the Indians had made the Americans strong and self-reliant. Now the struggle with France taught them to agree among themselves and to stand together.

Let us look back for a moment and follow the steady southward progress of the French power. You will recall that Champlain had settled Quebec in 1608, but by attacking the Iroquois he had made that powerful confederacy bitter enemies of himself and his successors. Being thus debarred from advancing south through New York, the French followed the great lakes westward. Their explorers were of two types—Jesuit missionaries who braved death in every agonizing form to spread their faith among the redmen, and trappers and traders who displayed a daring almost equally great in the search for furs. As a rule, the affable Frenchmen made friends of the Indians far more readily than did the arrogant English. The Jesuits became the trusted counsellors of the redmen, and gradually the mission settlements extended far into the unknown West.

From the Indians, the French learned of the great Mississippi River which flowed southward beyond the lakes, and in 1673 Father Marquette, accompanied by the trader Joliet, penetrated to its upper waters in Wisconsin and floated nearly a thousand miles down its mighty current, seeing lands which no white man had trodden since De Soto's ill-fated expedition more than a century before. Marquette, warned by friendly Indians of dangers farther down the river, finally headed north again and brought back to Quebec the news of his discovery.

La Salle, a French gentleman, was fired with the idea of taking formal possession of this wonderful stream for his country; and, after conquering a thousand dangers, he led an expedition from Lake Michigan up the Chicago River and thence down the Mississippi to its mouth. He landed here and there along its banks to unfurl his flag and to proclaim his country's sovereignty over the new land. In honor of his King, Louis XIV., he named the territory Louisiana.

Of course the Spaniards claimed the Mississippi's mouth, but La Salle was resolute to oppose them. Returning to France, he organized a powerful fleet, and led it boldly through the Spanish Islands into the Gulf of Mexico to plant a settlement in Louisiana. A treacherous follower assassinated him and the colony failed, but France remained mistress of the Mississippi.

In 1689 Louis XIV. became embroiled in a European war with William III. of England; and the fact seemed to the two potentates ample reason why

there should be war between Canada and the British provinces. Louis reappointed an able general, Count Frontenac, to be for the second time governor of Canada, and gave him orders to crush the opposition of the Iroquois, destroy them if need be, and then push on to the conquest of New York.

The Iroquois, however, without waiting for Frontenac's coming, had already taken up the hatchet against the French and raided their settlements, even to within sight of Montreal. Where one of its prominent suburbs now stands, they roasted and, according to tradition, devoured their captives in full sight of their enemies. Frontenac, good soldier as he was, found it required all his strength to drive back the Iroquois; and his operations against New York were reduced to one savage raid upon the extreme northern settlement of Schenectady, most of whose inhabitants were massacred in cold blood by the French and their Indian allies. At the same time, Frontenac roused the Canadian savages against New England. They stole southward through the forests, and raids and massacres, such as had been unknown since King Philip's War, once more scourged the frontiers of Maine and New Hampshire, and reached even to Massachusetts.

It was this suddenly aggressive attitude of Canada that turned the thoughts of the British colonists toward union. Jacob Leisler was at the moment governing New York, and to him apparently belongs the honor of bringing about a meeting of delegates from the various colonies, the first Continental Congress. It met at New York in 1690, to concert plans for mutual safety and defence. A naval expedition was despatched against Quebec under Sir William Phips of Maine, while a land force under Fitz-John Winthrop of Connecticut marched against Montreal. Frontenac easily repulsed both of these amateur commanders, and the Indian raids continued.

In 1694 more than a hundred people were massacred at Durham in New Hampshire, many of them being tortured and burned to death. In 1697 Haverhill, Massachusetts, was attacked, Mrs. Dustin's well-known adventure being one of the incidents of the assault. Mrs. Dustin was carried off a captive by the Indians, but learning that they meant to torture her, she managed to free herself in the night, and, with the aid of another woman captive and a boy, she tomahawked all ten of the sleeping braves who guarded them. The fugitives then escaped down the Merrimac River in an Indian canoe and returned to Haverhill, carrying with them ten gory scalps as trophies of their experience.

A brief peace between England and France (1697) relieved the colonies from their terror for a couple of years; but then there came another European war, that of the "Spanish Succession." Once more France and England took opposite sides in the quarrel, and once more—so unhappily do world-parted events interweave—the Canadian Indians began ravaging New England.



From "History of Our Country"

THE EXPULSION OF THE ACADIANS

Courtesy of Jones Bros. Pub. Co.

ASTIC:
FIELDER:

Deerfield in Massachusetts was sacked and burned early in 1704, the red-men stealing over the winter wastes on snow-shoes, which enabled them to walk undiscovered at night up the drifted snow-banks and over the palisading which was meant to protect the town. More than a hundred of the inhabitants were carried off as prisoners; but, contrary to the usual custom, their friends were afterward allowed to ransom them. One young girl was adopted by the red-men and retained among them. Years later she visited Deerfield as an Indian squaw, the mother of several children. Her relatives entreated her to remain with them, but she had grown unused to civilization, and, refusing all persuasion, returned to her Indian home and husband. Another bloody massacre occurred at Haverhill in 1708.

On their part, the colonists of New England, New York, and New Jersey united in an expedition which accompanied a British fleet, and took possession of Nova Scotia (1710). The following year a similar but much more formidable force under the British admiral Walker attempted the capture of Quebec. The expedition was badly handled, provisions ran out, the land forces became bewildered amid the forests, several ships were wrecked on the St. Lawrence, and nearly a thousand men drowned. The survivors were thankful to return alive. Peace between France and England was made in 1713, and Nova Scotia was allowed to remain in English hands. This was the first proof given to the Canadian Indians of the weakness of their French protectors.

A deadly hatred had been bred between the Canadian and the British colonists, and the third war of their mother countries found them eager to fly at each other's throats. This war, known as that of King George, did not break out until 1744, by which time the British colonies had grown far stronger than their northern neighbor. The colonists began operations by an expedition against Louisburg, the great fortress of eastern Canada, situated on Cape Breton Island. Louis XIV. had spent many million dollars in erecting this celebrated structure, which he boasted that no earthly power could conquer. It was of tremendous strength, was garrisoned by nearly two thousand men, and was considered impregnable.

Some idea of the temper of the New Englanders may be gathered from the fact that the first suggestion made by the governor of Massachusetts to his council was to despatch against this stronghold a force of only four hundred men, who were to carry it by sudden assault. Ultimately, however, the number of troops sent out by New England was about four thousand, most of them from Massachusetts. Four British men-of-war transported the colonists to Louisburg. The enterprise was looked upon almost as a religious crusade, prayer-meetings were held in all the churches, and from every household in New England went up petitions for success.

There were no generals in the colony, so the command was given to a popular merchant, William Pepperell. His followers knew as little as he about the regular tactics for besieging such a fortress as Louisburg; but their very ignorance brought them success. They pressed forward in a reckless headlong fashion that amazed and disheartened the French commander. A single company charged blindly against one of his strongest batteries, and those who were not killed were brought before him as prisoners. They united in greatly magnifying the number of the besiegers. The commandant's provisions were short, his garrison half mutinous, and at this opportune moment the British ships captured the only French supply vessel. In despair, the commander offered to surrender, and he was allowed to name his own terms by the astonished and delighted colonial officers (1745).

The news of the capture of Louisburg amazed everybody. The Massachusetts ministers regarded it as a direct answer to their prayers. England made William Pepperell a baronet, the first American to be so honored; and France, sorely humiliated, prepared an immense expedition in retaliation.

Forty strong ships of war left France in 1746, accompanied by troops and a fleet of transports intended to carry forty thousand Canadian and Indian auxiliaries. The Frenchmen meant to devastate the American coast from Maine to Georgia, and drive the colonists back into the wilderness. Luckily for America, several of the ships were wrecked on the outward voyage. Pestilence broke out among the crews and spread until its ravages left them helpless. The admiral in command died or committed suicide. His successor also took his own life in despair over the ruin of the expedition. And after all these calamities, when the desperate remnant of the fleet finally moved southward to the attack, a tempest again assailed and scattered them. Such as were not wrecked, returned singly to France. What wonder that New England once more believed herself specially favored by the protection of Heaven!

Peace between France and England was signed in 1748, and to the lasting resentment of the colonists, Louisburg, the gem of their great triumph, was restored to France, in exchange for Madras in India, a city and a land which to our ancestors were valueless. Their Canadian foes were revived against them, that England might reap the benefit elsewhere.

All three of these wars with Canada had their origin in Europe. Now came the fourth and greatest struggle with the French; and this rose from events in America itself. The results, too, were felt mainly on this continent, and decided forever that the land should be English and not French. This final contest is generally distinguished from the earlier ones by being known specially as the "French and Indian War."

The settlements of the two opposing powers were rapidly drawing nearer



WASHINGTON'S RETURN FROM THE FRENCH FORTS

FOR THE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
ASTOR L. FOX AND
JILDENSON BATES

together. Hitherto their forces had been compelled to go in search of each other, across many leagues of wilderness. But now the British colonists found their numbers so increased along the Atlantic coast line, that their frontier clearings reached back to the Appalachian Mountain range, and pioneers began to plant themselves in the fertile valleys beyond. This region, since its streams flowed into the Mississippi, was claimed by the French. They did not want it for settlement, but they did mean to preserve it for their country, for the Indians, and for the fur trade. As soon as they learned of the intrusions of the English, they planned to build a line of forts extending from Lake Erie southward to their far-off settlement of New Orleans, thus marking the frontier that they claimed.

The western limit of English territory was, of course, very uncertain. The original grants to several of the thirteen colonies had named the Pacific Ocean as their boundary toward the setting sun, but at that time nobody knew where the Pacific Ocean really lay; and kingly charters could certainly convey but a shadowy right over vast regions of whose existence they knew nothing. Still the colonists were very positive that their claims did not stop at the summit of the Appalachians. They had no intention of yielding to the grasping French, and so the conflict became inevitable.

News soon reached the colonies of the building of the first of the chain of French forts, one on Lake Erie at Presque Isle, now the city of Erie, and two others farther south along the Alleghany River. As Pennsylvania's charter distinctly limited her western boundary, while Virginia's conferred on her everything north and west, this district, though really on the Quaker frontier, was claimed by Virginia. Her governor, Dinwoodie, resolved to send the Frenchmen notice to withdraw (1753). The first messenger despatched through the wilderness on this delicate and somewhat dangerous mission, was baffled by the mere physical difficulties of the trip, and returned with his work unaccomplished. The task was then given to a more resolute man, a youth of one of the leading Virginia families, George Washington.

Washington, the great hero of our race, was at this time an athletic young man of twenty-one, over six feet tall, vigorous, self-reliant, and well-educated. He had already been through the Ohio wilderness as a surveyor, and he accomplished the governor's mission with promptitude and success, though its only result was, as might have been expected, the bringing back of a haughty answer from the French commander, followed by a hurrying forward of the work upon the forts.

On his route, Washington, with experienced eye, had picked out the most valuable site for a fort in all that region, the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers, where Pittsburg now stands, "the Gateway of the West."

He advised Governor Dinwoodie to fortify this point against the French, and workmen were despatched for the purpose in the early spring of 1754. Washington, young as he was, received a colonel's commission, and was sent as second in command of the troops that were enlisted and hurried after the workmen to protect them. His commander died upon the route, and thus Washington became the actual leader of the expedition.

Before he reached the fort the French had come down against it in heavy force, driven off the workmen, completed the buildings, and named the strong post Fort Du Quesne, after the Canadian governor. All parties now saw, as Washington had seen from the first, that Fort Du Quesne was the key to the entire Ohio valley.

The French had prepared an ambush for the advancing Virginians; but Washington, warned by a friendly Indian, turned the tables on the ambushers. With a file of picked men he crept stealthily to the rear of the waiting foes. When his followers were all in position, he himself gave the signal for attack by firing upon the enemy. Thus it was Washington who discharged the first shot in the French and Indian War.

Some of the entrapped enemy were slain, some taken prisoners, and Washington fell back with his troops to a hastily erected stockade, which he named Fort Necessity. He had only four hundred men in all, and a force of sixteen hundred French and Indians was despatched against him. His fort was gallantly assailed, but made such prolonged and determined resistance that the French commander finally offered to let the Americans go free, if they would surrender the post. Washington gladly agreed, and he and his little band marched out with colors flying (July 4, 1754), and returned to Virginia.

By this time every one in the colonies saw that war was inevitable, and men's thoughts turned once more to the great question of union. The English Government itself urged on the provinces the necessity for combined action; and in June of 1754 a congress of delegates met at Albany. It was intended that every colony should be represented, but the more southern ones did not as yet feel themselves sufficiently concerned to attend. The meeting was held at Albany, because the delegates hoped to include the Iroquois in their league against the French, and these Indians were in fact persuaded into a warlike alliance. This Albany Congress is generally regarded as the first definite step toward the American Union.

The most prominent man who attended it was Benjamin Franklin, of Philadelphia. He had already gained prominence as a statesman and a publisher. His "Poor Richard's Almanac" was known throughout the colonies. To his printed account of the French seizure of Fort Du Quesne, he had appended his now famous picture of a snake divided into parts representing the



BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

71
FEDERAL
ASTORIA
ILLINOIS

different States, with the motto, "Unite or die." Franklin was now selected to draw up the plan for a colonial league.

It is interesting to note the representation which he assigned to each colony, as it roughly measures their relative importance. Massachusetts was to have seven delegates, Connecticut five, New Hampshire and Rhode Island each two; fifteen in all for New England. Pennsylvania had six, New York four, New Jersey three; that is, thirteen for the Middle States. Virginia was given seven, and Maryland and North and South Carolina each four, making seventeen for the South. Maine was at the time part of Massachusetts, Delaware was counted with Pennsylvania, and Georgia was still so insignificant that it was ignored.

The convention adopted Franklin's plan, which among other things placed the capital in his own city of Philadelphia. But every State Legislature to which the scheme was submitted, rejected it, as limiting their own power too much and increasing that of the King. On the other hand, the English Government refused the plan with equal promptness, on the ground that it gave too much power to the colonies. It is not difficult to see that serious possibilities for quarrel already underlay these opposing views of England and America.

For a time, however, the antagonism was forgotten in the necessities of the hour; and without any regular association, the colonies lent each other such assistance as they could. War had not yet been declared, but England sent General Braddock and a force of English soldiers to recover Fort Du Quesne. Braddock set out through the wilderness in 1755, Washington accompanying the expedition as a volunteer. The English general had a great contempt for the colonials, and for the French and Indians as well. He declared his foes would not dare attack him, and insisted on marching through the forests as if on parade, with drums beating and colors flying.

The result was that on July 8th he walked into an ambush. His men fell in heaps from the bullets of an enemy they could not see. The Britons stood their ground valiantly, and charged this way and that, at the foe that always melted from before them while continuing to fire from the rear. Braddock and most of his brightly dressed officers were shot down.

Only Washington and a few of his despised provincials knew what to do—and did it. At the first volley from the ambush, the Virginians threw themselves behind trees and answered shot for shot. Washington took command; he rode everywhere, encouraging, directing. His towering form made him a conspicuous figure, and the Indians marked him as a special victim. Yet he escaped unharmed. Two horses were shot under him, four bullets pierced his coat. One Indian chief declared afterward that he himself had fired at least twelve times at Washington, and at last sought an easier mark, convinced that

the tall Virginian was under the special protection of the Great Spirit. Shall we not thankfully believe the same?

Washington brought the shattered remnant of the Britons back to Virginia, an important task to be entrusted to a young man of only twenty-three! It involved a somewhat grim responsibility. He was receiving stern training for even greater labors in the future.

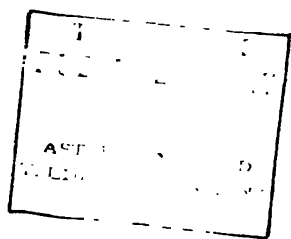
Two other events occurred in 1755 which certainly looked like war, though the French and English governments were still assuring each other of their pacific intentions and profound mutual esteem. You will recall that the French province of Nova Scotia had been ceded to England in 1713. Its inhabitants, at least those of Acadia, its western coast, were still thoroughly French at heart, and the New England colonists feared an attack from them in case of war. As a preventive measure, they resorted to the cruel device of expelling the Acadians from their homes. A strong force of Massachusetts soldiers landed from ships and made prisoners of the unsuspecting peasants. They were hurried on shipboard with such few belongings as they could snatch in haste, and were scattered in small bodies among the various British colonies. It is this event which Longfellow has made the theme of his beautiful poem "Evangeline."

Meanwhile, Sir William Johnson, the agent of the British Government to the Iroquois, a man who lived in the Indians' wigwams and had almost unbounded influence over them, undertook to drive the French from Lake Champlain. His force of thirty-five hundred men, partly Iroquois, partly colonists, met about a thousand French and six hundred Indians near Fort Edward on the banks of Lake George. The battle that followed was the most bloody and desperate that had yet been fought on American soil. The outnumbered French were almost all slain; their Indian allies fled. So severe, however, were Johnson's losses that he made no further advance. The French remained in possession of Lake Champlain and strengthened their two powerful fortresses there, Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

By this time it was impossible to maintain any longer the pretence of peace, and first England, then France, declared war early in 1756. The British Government persisted in misunderstanding the case it had to deal with. It sent over incompetent generals, who spent their time in parading their own importance, sneering at the colonial troops, and bullying the people whenever opportunity offered. Instead of accepting as their first duty the protection of the frontiers against the Indians, these generals were ambitious to achieve some great exploit, which should redound to their personal fame. Two years of disaster followed. Montcalm, one of France's ablest soldiers, was made governor of Canada, and he repulsed his vainglorious opponents at every point.



THE CHARGE OF THE BRITISH HIGHLANDERS AT QUEBEC



The colonies lost heavily in men and money. Their frontiers from Maine to Virginia were cruelly ravaged.

In 1758 the tide turned. The British colonists were at last fully roused. They outnumbered the Canadians more than a dozen to one, and had at first expected an easy victory. The contest had proved, however, more even than it promised. All the northern Indians except the Iroquois had made an alliance with the enemy; and even the Iroquois began to waver in their ancient allegiance, tempted to admiration by French daring and success. Moreover, the Frenchmen were all woodsmen, all fighters, while the Americans, except upon the extreme frontiers, had become a race of peaceful traders. They were unaccustomed to war, and most of them took little interest in it.

Now, however, they began to wake to its seriousness; and at the same time a political change of ministry placed William Pitt, one of England's ablest and most celebrated statesmen, in control of her policy. Pitt appealed to the patriotism of the colonies, recalled the worthless and offensive British generals, and sent energetic and competent men to prosecute the war.

General Amherst assumed the chief command, with Gen. James Wolfe as his first assistant. With a large force of British troops and provincials, they besieged the great fortress of Louisburg. It was better defended this time than when the Massachusetts militia had captured it thirteen years before, but now the investing army was several times as large as the former one, and had heavy siege guns, which slowly battered down the walls. The falling fortress had no choice but to surrender in the end, and its crumbling ruins marked the crumbling of French power in America.

At the same time, one of the incompetent Britons who still remained, led an overwhelming force against Fort Du Quesne in the West. Washington was once more a member of the expedition, and once more he saved it from disaster. The British general moved so slowly, fortifying every step as he advanced, that winter approached while he was still a long way from his goal. Thereon he cheerfully decided to return to the settlements till spring. Washington, who had argued and entreated all summer, now finally secured permission to push onward alone, with his own force of about a thousand Virginians. Furious over the long delay, these men sped forward on the wings of the wind; and the French, who had only laughed at the lumbering tactics of the British general, now saw that their time had come. Their garrison was scarce five hundred strong, and, setting fire to the fort, they fled to Canada. Washington was at last able to raise the standard of England over the much-disputed spot, and he named it Fort Pitt, in honor of the great statesman, whose abilities he recognized. The settlement that sprang up around the fort, has become the mighty city of Pittsburg.

The next year, 1759, the general-in-chief, Amherst, resolved to strike even heavier blows against Canada. The colonists, delighted to find a real leader at last, ably seconded him. They put fifty thousand men in the field, while Canada's whole population scarce exceeded eighty thousand. The forts on Lake Champlain were captured, and also those in western New York; but the crowning achievement of the year was Wolfe's celebrated capture of Quebec, the Gibraltar of America.

The great French leader Montcalm, slowly forced back by overwhelming numbers, had determined to make his last stand at Quebec. The strongly fortified city stood upon a cliff, the French troops were quite as numerous as Wolfe's, and the latter's expedition seemed hopeless from the start. He spent more than two months in fruitless assaults upon the city's stout defences. Then, exploring along the shore, he himself discovered a foot-path that scaled the precipitous heights behind the city. Secretly, by night, he led his men up the narrow way, and at dawn the Frenchmen saw his troops arrayed on the Plains of Abraham, as they were called, overlooking the city. "They have discovered our weak point," said Montcalm quietly; "we must fight them."

The battle was short and decisive, and the English won (September 13, 1759). Both generals charged at the head of their men, and both fell mortally wounded. "It is better so," said Montcalm, when informed that his end was near; "I shall not see the surrender of Quebec."

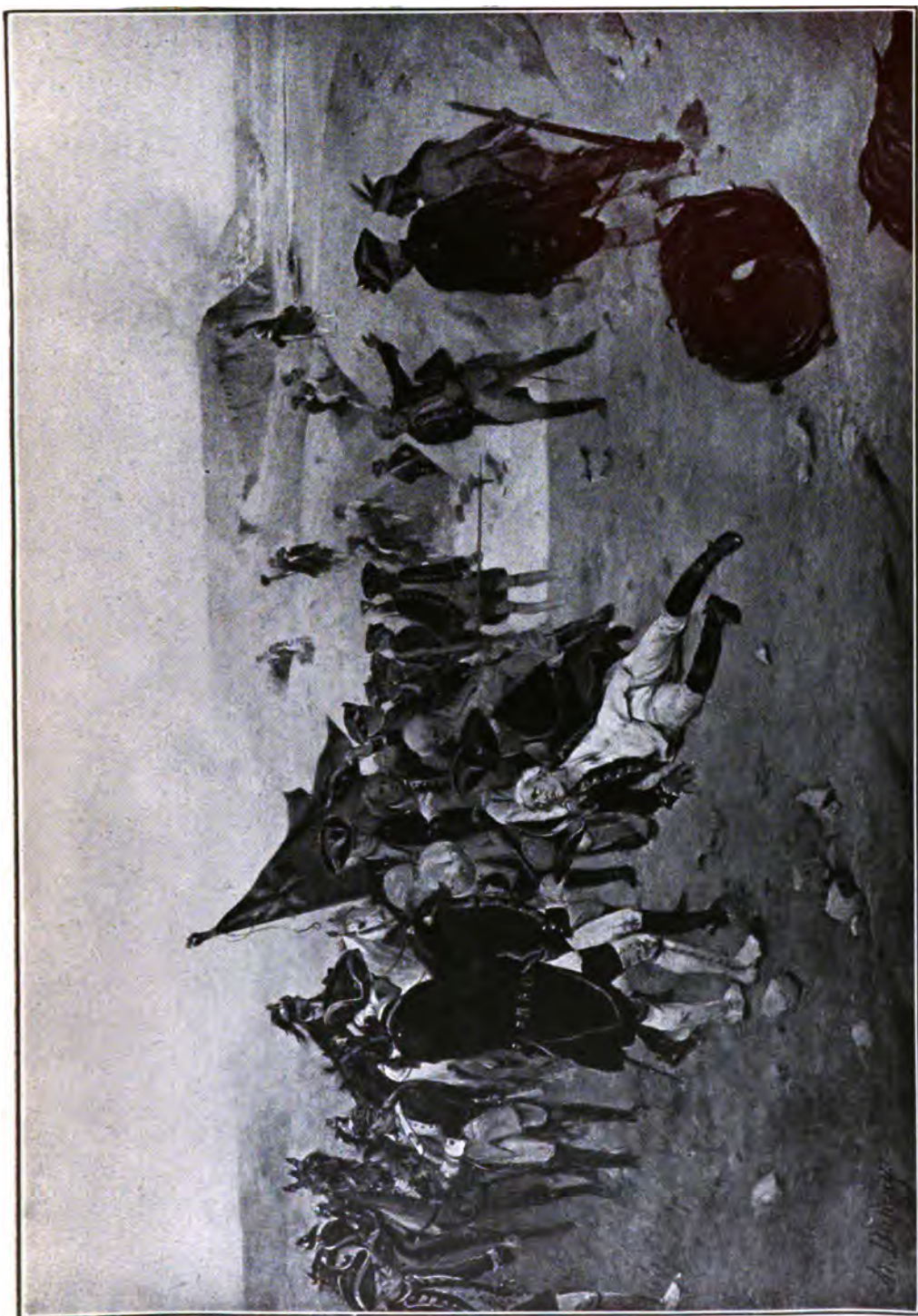
Wolfe was told that the enemy were beaten and everywhere in flight. "Now God be praised," he cried. "I die in peace."

The fall of Quebec, accompanied as it was by the death of Montcalm, was in effect the fall of Canada. Montreal, the only remaining stronghold, surrendered the next year to the overwhelming forces under Amherst.

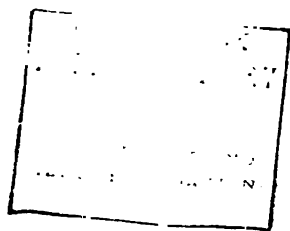
Abroad, the war between England and France lasted until 1763, but there was no more fighting with Canada. The Indian allies of the French still held out under their able chieftain Pontiac. For a year or two they kept quiet, but in 1763 burst suddenly upon all the English forts throughout the West. The main struggle centred around Detroit, where Pontiac himself commanded. The garrison there were besieged for over five months, and were reduced to terrible straits. That and Fort Pitt were the only important posts that held out.

Finally, a French agent reached the Indians with notice that France had made peace with England, and that they could hope for no further aid from her. Most of the tribes then sought peace, though Pontiac and his immediate followers still refused it and fled into the far West. Pontiac ranks by the side of King Philip as one of the colonies' ablest and most dangerous foes.

The peace of 1763 gave to England all of France's enormous possessions



DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE



in America, east of the Mississippi. At the same time France transferred to her ally, Spain, all her claims to the region west of the great river. The degenerate Louis XV. thus surrendered an entire continent, which he had made no effort to save, for Montcalm received practically no assistance in his magnificent defence. Spain, on her part, ceded Florida to Great Britain, which thus became mistress of the entire Atlantic coast. No other treaty has ever transferred the ownership of so enormous a fraction of the surface of the earth.

"I have yielded it all," said the French minister bitterly, "on purpose to destroy the English nation. They have desired American dominion; I mean to give them more than enough of it." Did the sarcastic statesman really see into the future? It was the embarrassments resulting from the French and Indian War, that involved England in the struggle with the colonies.



DEATH OF MONTCALM



BUNKER HILL

Chapter X

THE REVOLUTION—TYRANNY OF KING GEORGE

[*Authorities* : Fiske, "American Revolution" ; Frothingham, "Rise of the Republic" ; Abbot, "Revolutionary Times" ; Lecky, "England in the Eighteenth Century" ; Governor Hutchinson's Diary and Letters ; Burke's Speeches on America ; Franklin's Autobiography ; Sloane, "The French War and the Revolution" ; Weeden, "Economic and Social History of New England" ; Lodge, "Short History of the American Colonies."]



IN the year 1760, George III. became King of England. Though not a particularly bright man, he was by no means a mere figurehead to the government, such as his father and his grandfather had been. On the contrary, he was strong, earnest, and pig-headed as ever king could be. He was determined to rule England himself, and he certainly exercised more power than any other of her Hanoverian sovereigns.

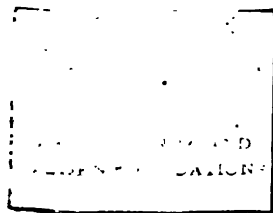
With his usual obstinate wrong-headedness, he plunged immediately into a quarrel with the American colonies. This was really but an echo of his struggle in England. William Pitt, the statesman who had brought the French war to its triumphant close, was the leader of the party against the new King. The demand of the opposition on both sides of the Atlantic was that they should be taxed only by some body which they themselves elected to represent them—that "Taxation without representation is tyranny."

The English reform party fought King George with such votes as they possessed ; the Americans, having no votes at all, had to fight him with arms.

Thus England was not a unit against us. There was always a party in Parliament upholding our cause, and King George felt the necessity of severity



THE BOSTON MASSACRE



the more strongly and the more obstinately, because our earlier victories involved the triumph of his personally hated enemies at home.

The real issue between England and America rose out of the fact that the colonies had no voice in the choosing of Parliament. Hence Parliament legislated not for their benefit, but for that of the British merchants who controlled it. The colonies were treated merely as a source from which England was to draw profit. Vexatious laws, "the Navigation Acts," controlled the shipping trade, and prevented the colonies from dealing with any country but England. Sometimes they could not even traffic with each other.

These laws had long been evaded by wholesale smuggling, but in 1761 King George determined that they should be rigorously enforced. For that purpose he appointed custom officers and gave them "Writs of Assistance," which allowed them to force a way into any house they chose, and search for smuggled goods. The colonists were much incensed over this, and James Otis, the leading lawyer of Massachusetts, made against the writs a speech so eloquent and convincing that it has been called the cornerstone of American liberty.

The avowed purpose of the English King and Parliament, both in this and in later measures, was to exact from the colonies a share of the expenses of the French and Indian War. There seemed some justice in this, for the war had been begun in America, England had sent troops to help the colonists, and the cost of the war had doubled her already enormous national debt. On the other hand, the colonists urged that the mother country's main expenditures had been in other lands than America, that she had gained an empire in recompense, and that the colonies had already paid a heavy price in both men and money, a price which they could ill afford, and which in proportion to their resources far exceeded the cost to England.

Parliament had never laid a direct tax on the colonies, and it began now by hinting that the various provincial legislatures had better gather by their own methods the money England desired. Since, however, the legislatures failed to act, Parliament in 1765 passed two laws, whose final issue probably no man in either country at that time foresaw.

One of these measures was called the "Quartering Act." It relieved England of a portion of her expensive army by sending it to the colonies, where the inhabitants were ordered to find it "quarters"—that is, lodgings. The reason given for the presence of the troops in time of peace, was that they would check rebellion in Canada and keep the Indians in subjection. But the Americans had already endured the insolence of British military men; they could not bear to have their homes invaded, they felt the law was really a threat against themselves, and they much preferred to undertake their own protection.

As for Canada, it was utterly exhausted; and since the British troops remained in the seaport cities, while the Indians were on the far frontier beyond the Appalachian Mountains, it is difficult to see that either party had any very strong influence upon the other.

The second measure passed by Parliament was the now celebrated "Stamp Act," which sought to raise a direct revenue from the colonies for the payment of the British soldiers to be sent there. It ordered that all legal documents and all publications in America must bear stamps purchased from the Government. This act, as the colonists saw, struck at the very root of their liberties. If Parliament could exact money from them on one article without their consent, it could do the same on everything else. They were at its mercy. For the first time their protest advanced from words to open tumult. In several places the stamps were burned; a procession in New York carried through the streets a copy of the Stamp Act, labelled "The folly of England and the ruin of America."

In Virginia, the eloquent orator, Patrick Henry, led the legislature in passing a series of resolutions flatly declaring that neither Parliament nor King had any right to tax them. Tradition represents Henry's speech as sounding the note of defiance in no uncertain tones. "Cæsar," he cried, "had his Brutus; Charles the First his Cromwell; and George the Third——"

"Treason! Treason!" interrupted both friends and enemies.

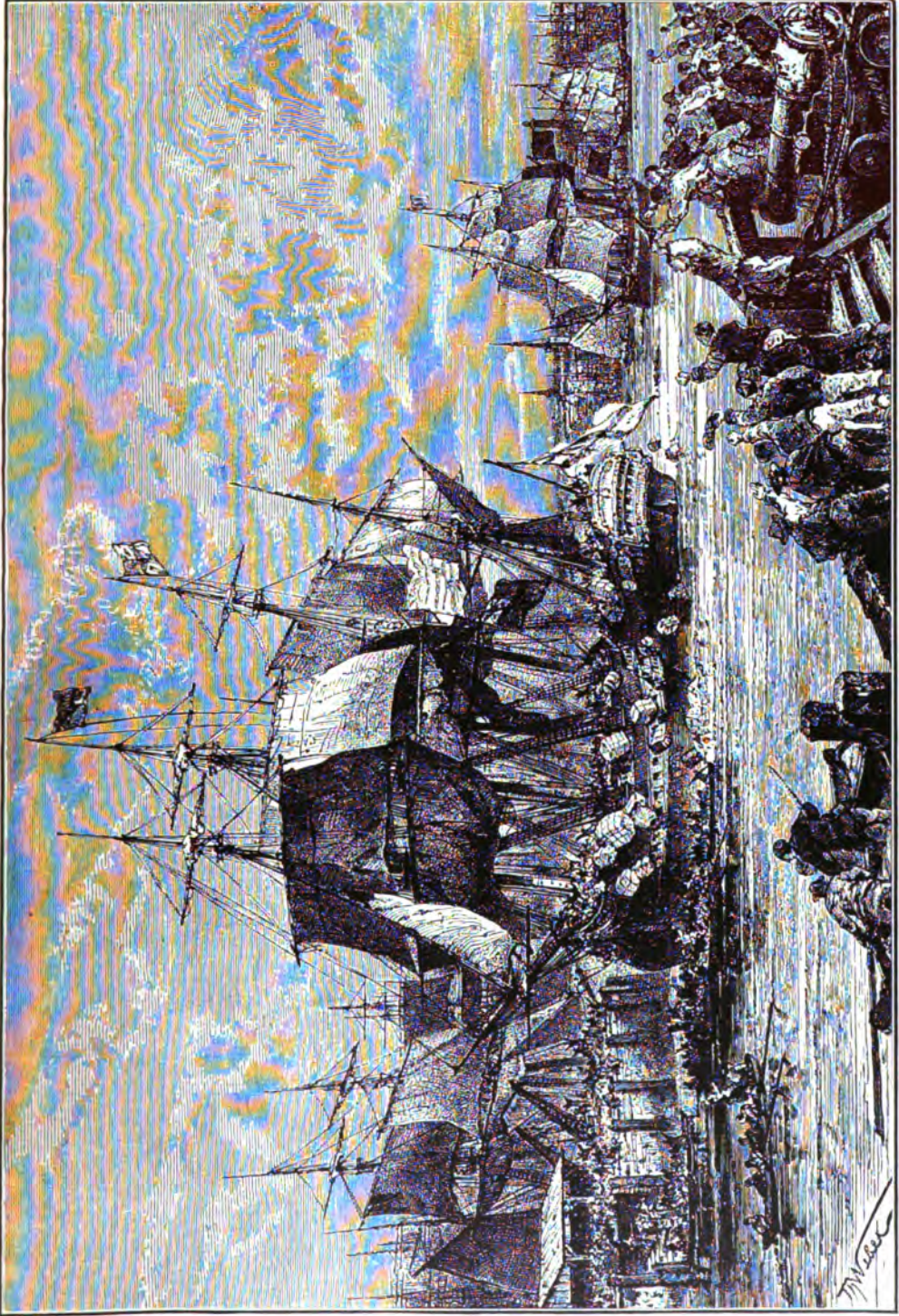
"May profit by their example," concluded the orator defiantly. "If that be treason, make the most of it!"

Delegates from nine of the colonies met in New York and passed a "Declaration of Rights" similar to that of Virginia. The day on which the Stamp Act went into effect was made a day of mourning throughout the entire country. Church bells were tolled, and buildings draped in black.

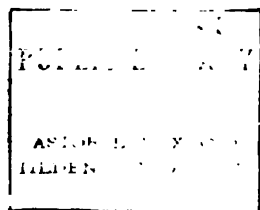
Frightened by the widespread and solemn anger, not a single agent of the Government offered his stamps for sale. After a short pause, business was continued without them. Books and papers were published as before, and the American merchants began those agreements which afterward became so important, refusing to trade with England till the offensive law was repealed.

The English Government was astonished and a little awed. Pitt was openly exultant. "I rejoice," he cried out in Parliament, "I rejoice that America has resisted." As a means of procuring money the tax was a flat failure, and sooner than use force to collect it, Parliament repealed the obnoxious Stamp Act the following year.

Money from America King George was determined to have. His supporters were growing stronger in Parliament, and in 1767 they passed a law placing a duty upon many articles largely imported into the colonies. The



EMPTYING THE TEA INTO BOSTON HARBOR



English Government had passed similar acts in regulation of imports earlier in the century, and the colonists had submitted to them. Now, however, they had been thoroughly roused, and, as we have seen, had taken their stand on the broad general principle that no one, without their consent, could tax them in any way. They renewed their non-importation agreements. As yet no one thought of actual rebellion. The colonists were Englishmen demanding their rights, just as Londoners might have done—and more than once had done.

The Massachusetts Legislature invited the other provinces to arrange with it for further measures of resistance to the new law. The infuriated King George declared that their letter was an invitation to treason; he commanded them to withdraw it, and when they refused, dismissed them from office. The other colonies promptly expressed sympathy for Massachusetts, and from this time forward she was regarded both in America and England as the leader in resistance to the King.

As an immediate punishment, the first regiments of the "quartering" army were sent to Boston. Their presence caused the earliest bloodshed in the long contest. Naturally, the townsfolk hated the "redcoats"; they were hooted in the streets; serious collisions occurred; and, finally, a little party of soldiers were compelled in self-defence to fire upon a mob that was assaulting them with sticks and stones and threatening them with death. Three men were killed by the volley and several wounded (May 5, 1770). In the excited state of the public mind, the victims were treated as martyrs. They were given a huge public funeral, and the affray was designated the "Boston massacre."

Far more serious in bloodshed, though perhaps less fraught with tremendous future consequences, was the fight at Alamance Creek. This occurred in North Carolina in 1771. The royal governor of the colony, "the Black Wolf" Tryon, was exacting taxes without the legislature's consent. The rough backwoodsmen formed a band of "Regulators" to resist his extortions, but they were defeated after a hard fight against his overwhelming forces. Some thirty men were slain, and several of the leading Regulators were hanged.

By this time the English merchants were suffering severely from the falling off in American trade. The colonists had held with remarkable firmness to their agreements to import nothing from England and to use no goods of English manufacture. American petitions against the tax bill of 1767 had proved of no effect, but when English requests were also made for its repeal, the Government wavered. The King's obstinacy, however, was by this time thoroughly roused. The money issue he abandoned; but the principle involved, as to England's right to lay duties on American imports, he would not surrender. The tax was removed from every article of import except tea, and the charge on that was made so slight as to seem trifling.

It is a lasting honor to the American colonists that they refused to accept this specious compromise. They also were fighting for the principle, not for the money involved. They continued their non-importation pledges, and tea became the burning question of the hour.

As the Americans refused to receive any tea, it rotted in English storehouses. Finally the King ordered several shiploads sent to the various American ports; and he remitted the English duties upon it, so that after paying the colonial tax it could still be sold there cheaper than in England, cheaper, indeed, than it had ever been before. This has been represented as a philanthropic effort on his part to save the tea companies from loss. Perhaps it was so; but to the Americans it seemed merely one more attempt to trap them into accepting taxation. Merchants were warned not to receive the tea; and it was quietly gotten rid of, stored in damp cellars where it rotted, or sent back to England.

Boston, however, had now a resolute governor determined to uphold the King's authority. He insisted that the tea sent there should be received and placed on sale. A monster mass meeting was held, and Samuel Adams, the fiery leader of the patriotic party, besought the governor not to drive them to extremes. He, however, stood firm; and Adams, rising before the people gathered in the "Old South Church," said solemnly: "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country."

"The country" in those days meant not America, but the united empire of England and America, and by his words Adams abandoned the hope of keeping them united through a peaceful settlement of their dispute. It was the first open threat of independence. It was, moreover, the signal to his impatient hearers to adopt forcible measures. That night a party of sixty citizens disguised as Indians swarmed on board the three tea-ships in the harbor and dumped their entire cargoes into the water (December 16, 1773).

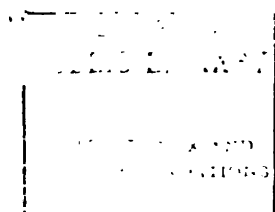
Great was the triumph of the Bostonians, great the rage of the Governor, and greater still the anger of King and Parliament when the news reached England. Boston, already punished, had once more been the leader in disorder. To be sure, the tea had been everywhere refused, and a little later in Maryland the owner of the tea-ship "Peggy Stewart" was compelled to set fire to his property with his own hands, and stand by while both vessel and cargo burned to ashes. These facts, however, were overpassed, and revenge centred upon refractory Boston. A series of punitive measures were hastily passed, some of which far exceeded all authority either King or Parliament had ever claimed.

The Boston Port Bill closed that harbor to all vessels and removed the seat of government in Massachusetts to Salem. At the same time the colony was placed under military rule, and its charter was suspended. Other oppressive



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THE BOSTON BOYS PROTEST TO GENERAL GAGE



measures were also enacted. The governor, as having been too mild, was removed, and General Gage, chief of the British forces already in America, was appointed military governor of Massachusetts.

These measures were carried through Parliament in the face of much opposition from the Whigs. There was no legal justification of the acts. The colonies had used force, and they were to be met by greater force. The pretext of law was thrown aside, and naked tyranny stood revealed. King George meant to have his way, not because he was right, but because he was the stronger.

Once more the other colonies expressed their sympathy and support for Massachusetts in her hour of trial; and in April, 1774, the "First Continental Congress" met at Philadelphia. Delegates were present from every colony except tiny Georgia, and they were a unit in their action. The Congress urged the various legislatures to pass non-importation laws strengthening the already existing agreements, and it drew up and forwarded to the King the celebrated "Declaration of Rights." In this document it was for the first time thought necessary to assure his Majesty that the colonists did not deny him as their sovereign. They did, however, deny very positively the right of Parliament to tax them, and they branded the acts against Massachusetts as unconstitutional and tyrannical.

It was no longer possible for men to be blind to the direction in which matters were drifting. Even the children of Boston caught the spirit of their elders, and sent a delegation to General Gage to complain of the "tyranny" of his soldiers in breaking their sleds and interfering with their coasting ground. The suppressed Massachusetts Legislature met in secret under its president, John Hancock, and authorized a militia of "minute men," so called because the men held themselves always ready to come to the defence of the colony at a minute's notice. Powder and military supplies were gathered. General Gage learned where some of these were stored at Concord, and sent out troops from Boston to destroy them. At the same time he planned to arrest both Hancock and Samuel Adams, the patriot leaders, who were at Lexington.

The midnight ride of Paul Revere warned the Massachusetts farmers of the coming of the redcoats, and the militia began gathering in every village. Hancock and Adams escaped from Lexington, but some of the militia stood upon its common when the British advance guard marched up. The commander ordered them to disperse. They hesitated; shots were fired; a volley rang out from the Britons; and eight of the "minute men" lay dead upon Lexington common (April 19, 1775). The survivors, to escape capture, took to flight, firing as they went.

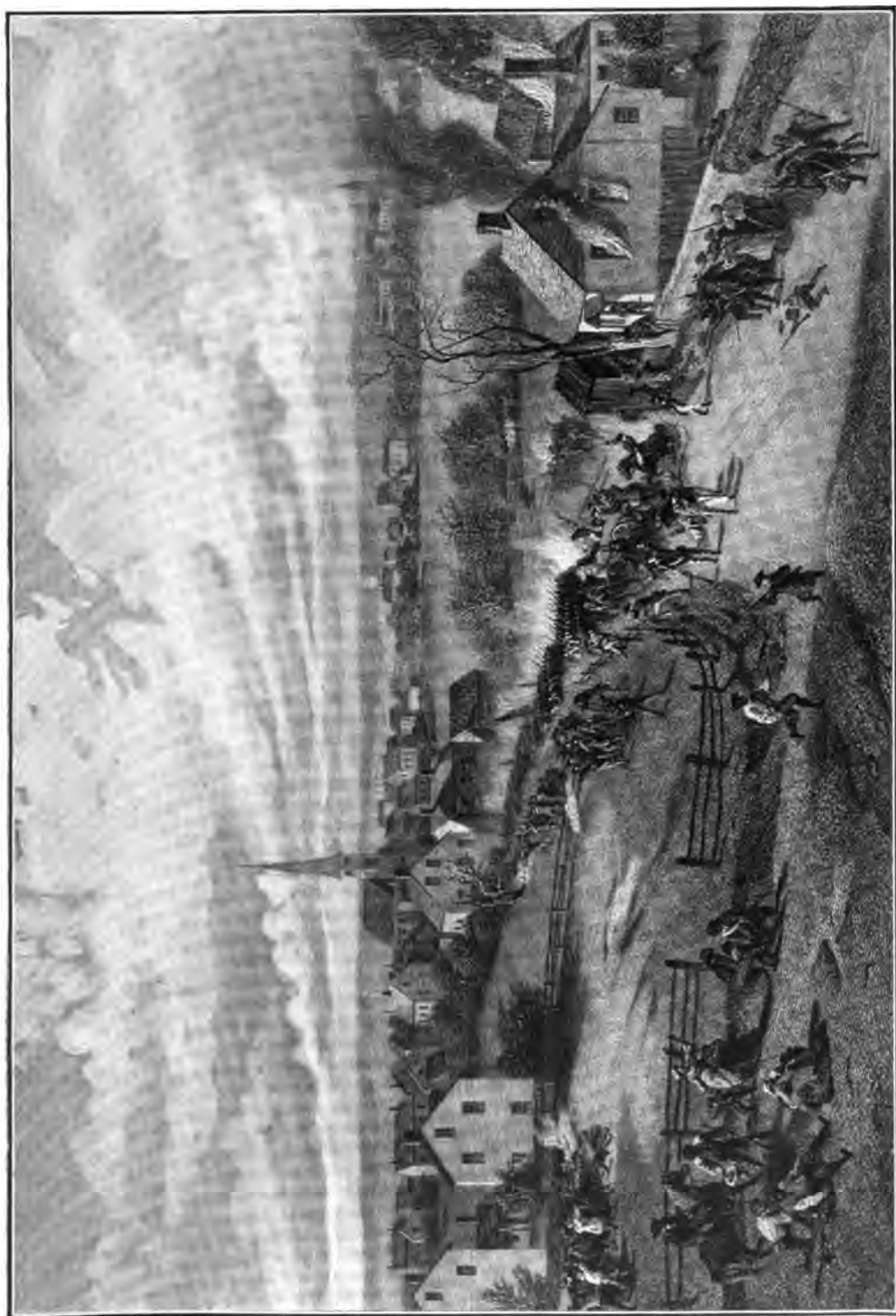
At Concord the militia had gathered in greater numbers, but there were not yet enough of them to resist the advance of the column of eight hundred British regulars, who entered the town and destroyed most of the military stores. At last a little band of the farmers marched resolutely against a party of soldiers who were tearing down Concord Bridge. Both sides fired; men fell; and the Britons retreated. The commander of the column saw that the whole country was rapidly rising against him, and he started back for Boston.

The farmers followed. They had no weapons fitted to resist a British bayonet charge, but they had learned fighting from the Indians, and from behind every stone wall, every tree, they aimed their muskets at the marching column. Its men fell fast, and their orderly retreat soon became a flight. At last they fairly ran. Men dropped exhausted on the road and were left behind to be made prisoners. Their wagons could hardly bear the wounded, and not one of the column would have reached Boston had not a body of reinforcements, a thousand strong, met them on the road. After giving the exhausted fugitives a few minutes to recover, Lord Percy, the new commander, resumed the retreat, and, despite the resolute efforts of the Americans to stop him, finally reached Boston.

How many "minute men" were engaged in this running fight it is impossible to say, though at no point were they anything like so numerous as their foe. About a hundred of them were killed or wounded, while the British loss amounted to nearly thrice as many.

The last appeal in the long dispute, the appeal to the God of Battles, had been made! And it had begun triumphantly for the colonies. Massachusetts farmers had made the renowned British "regulars" run like sheep. The news sped as wildfire speeds. The other New England provinces hastened to make common cause with Massachusetts, and sent troops to her support. Soon there were twenty thousand men gathered around Gage's little army in Boston. The war of American Independence had begun!





THE BRITISH RETREAT FROM CONCORD

2



THE BOSTON TEA-PARTY

Chapter XI

THE REVOLUTION—INDEPENDENCE AND SUFFERING

[*Authorities:* Winsor, "Handbook of the Revolution"; Ludlow, "War of American Independence"; Lossing, "Fieldbook of the Revolution"; Carrington, "Battles of the Revolution"; Irving, "Washington"; Lodge, "Washington"; Goodloe, "Birth of the Republic"; Lossing, "The Two Spies"; Burgoyne's Narrative of His Campaign; Baroness Riedesel, "Memoirs."]



MORE than a year elapsed after the battle of Lexington before the Continental Congress took the decisive step of declaring our independence. Most Americans did not desire a separation from England. They loved and admired their mighty mother country, and only sought to be admitted to the British union as equals, instead of as submissive slaves.

Even after Lexington, a majority of the colonists probably hoped that England would relent, and that some compromise could be arranged. It was only as the quarrel was persisted in step by step, that the necessity for independence was recognized. Some very earnest and honorable men never did recognize it; and, setting their duty to the King above that to the colonies, became loyalists or "tories," sacrificing home, friends, and fortune, and finally departing as exiles from the land of their birth, rather than surrender what they conceived to be their honor. Other people of course were "tories" for the money and favor to be gained from the British; and it is not surprising that the mass of the American people made no distinction between the two classes, but hated a "tory" as a traitor.

It is well to bear in mind that in the Middle States and in the extreme

South there was quite a strong tory minority. Perhaps in Georgia it was a majority. Ignorant men can be roused to resist oppression only when they have undergone its personal effects, and England's tyranny had reached that acute stage only in North Carolina under the cruel Tryon, and at Boston. It is not, therefore, from the ignorant that the strength of the patriot cause was drawn, but from among thinking men, from New England, where every farmer was a scholar as well, and from Virginia and its surrounding States, where a highly cultivated aristocracy took up the cause with clear vision, and easily drew after them the dependent class accustomed to their guidance. "Give me liberty or give me death!" exclaimed Patrick Henry, foremost of our orators. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Robert Lee—these were the men who led Virginia into the Revolution.

The royal governor of the province threatened to arm the rebels' slaves against them, to start a civil war which should destroy them. They defied him, and he fled to an English ship in the harbor and bombarded the city of Norfolk. He was the first royal governor to abandon his post. But others soon followed, and by the end of 1775, English government, except where upheld by English armies, had ceased in the colonies.

Meanwhile events followed fast upon the Lexington fight. On May 10, Colonel Ethan Allen of Vermont, at the head of only eighty-three men, took the fortress of Ticonderoga by surprise, and demanded its surrender.

"On what authority, sir?" protested the astonished commandant.

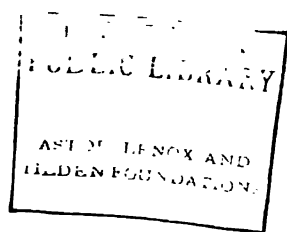
"In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," thundered Allen. And this strong post, which had defied armies in the French and Indian War, was thus secured with all its military stores.

On that very day the "Second Continental Congress," to which Allen probably referred, held its opening meeting at Philadelphia. It remained in session until 1781, and was the central power that guided the colonies through the war. John Hancock, now a proscribed rebel, was elected its president; the military movements in the North were approved; it was voted to raise an army of twenty thousand men, and George Washington, on the suggestion of the New England delegates, was elected commander-in-chief.

Surprised and overwhelmed, Washington at first refused the office; but it was unanimously urged upon him, and after grave consideration he consented to accept it. In so doing, he deliberately sacrificed all the comforts of his happy and wealthy private life; he made himself in English eyes the foremost of the rebels, the man to be singled out for vengeance. He gave himself utterly to his country. Looking back now, we can realize how momentous was his decision. It is doubtful if any other man could have carried the weary struggle through to its successful close.



THE LAST STAND AT BUNKER HILL



Before the new commander could reach Boston, a second and more serious contest had been fought there. This was the Battle of Bunker Hill. Bunker Hill, or that portion of it now called Breed's Hill, is a height overlooking Boston from the north. About twelve hundred of the American militia under Colonel Prescott occupied and began to fortify it. This bold defiance was like a challenge to battle, and General Gage, whose force had been increased to ten thousand troops, promptly despatched three thousand to storm the hill and chastise the presumptuous Americans. Prescott held his ground behind the half-finished embankment. His men had very little powder, and he bade them hold their fire until they could see the whites of their enemies' eyes.

It was like a spectacle set in some vast arena. As the well-trained British regiments advanced with martial ardor, their gorgeous regimentals flashing in the sunlight, they were watched by the seamen on the ships in the harbor, by their comrades under General Gage, by the bulk of the American army far away upon the mainland, and by every citizen of Boston who could find a place along its wharves or on its distant roofs.

They were watched, too, by the grim minute men at the summit of the hill, who let them come close, closer still. There must be no powder wasted! At last came Prescott's sharp command to fire, and the old flintlock muskets spoke. Probably no trained European troops could have discharged so deadly a volley. These Americans were many of them practised marksmen, and they fought with brain as well as hand, a thing no European common soldiers had learned to do. The British lines were swept away by whole companies. The Britons staggered; they hesitated. Yet with splendid courage they rallied, and, urged on by their officers, advanced a second time, nearer than before. Again the terrible American volley thundered forth, and this time as the smoke slowly lifted, there could be no mistake, the Britons were in full flight down the hill.

It was late in the afternoon before their officers succeeded in rallying them for a third charge. This time it was successful. It was not met with the same deadly fire, for the powder of the Americans was exhausted. Still they scorned to flee, and with naught but clubbed muskets awaited the British bayonets. The struggle on the summit was short. Weapons as well as numbers were too unequal. The Americans fled after losing over four hundred of their little force. The loss of the British in their three charges had been more than a thousand men.

Nominally Bunker Hill was an English victory; but every one saw that if the colonists continued to fight as well and shoot as straight, they must conquer in the end. Great was the rejoicing throughout America. Washington heard the news as he was hurrying toward Boston. "Did our militia

stand fire?" he asked eagerly. "Then, thank God, the victory of America is assured!"

King George could not understand how this untrained rebel rabble could keep ten thousand of his best troops shut up in Boston, and he removed General Gage and appointed in his stead Sir William Howe, who had led the British at Bunker Hill. But so ably did Washington extend his lines around the besieged city, that Howe could do no more than his predecessor. Through all the fall and winter the two armies lay watching, each waiting for the other.

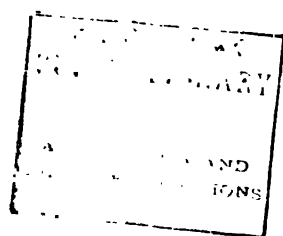
Only one other military operation occurred in 1775. This was the invasion of Canada by a very small force under General Montgomery. Its only chance of success lay in the hope that the Canadians might rise and join it, but they failed to do so. Several fortresses were captured, and Montreal itself was occupied by the Americans. Then, with scarce seven hundred men, Montgomery undertook the mad scheme of storming Quebec. Success would have ranked the leader with earth's most honored heroes; but his plans had been betrayed, the English were expecting him, and his charge was met by a volley of grapeshot, before which Montgomery himself was the first to fall. Benedict Arnold, his second in command, was badly wounded, and the little remnant of the heroic band had to flee from Canada.

At first the colonists had only hoped to keep the British from bursting out of Boston and devastating the country. This being accomplished, they now began to demand more, and urged that the foe should be driven from the city altogether. The great cannon captured at Ticonderoga were dragged through the wilderness to Boston; and in March, Washington, by a sudden movement, seized Dorchester Heights, to the south of Boston, whence the huge guns could bombard the city. Seeing himself thus overreached and at the mercy of the enemy, General Howe declined to "pay a Bunker Hill price" for the entrenchment rising at Dorchester. He offered to leave Boston, and did so with all his ships and troops, and such of the loyalist inhabitants as dared not stay to meet the fury of the returning patriots (March 17, 1776).

The colonial cause was thus brought to the height of its success; and, urged on by the entire country, Congress began to talk of independence. Compromise was no longer possible, for King George on his side grew daily more bent on punishing the colonies. He found it difficult to get Englishmen to enlist for the war, so he secured about twenty thousand German troops, "Hessians," purchasing the helpless men from their scoundrelly rulers, like so many cattle at so much per head. The news that these Hessians had been hired to slay them hardened the hearts of Americans against England, perhaps more than anything else. Wavering members of Congress became firm, and on July 4,



HESSIAN TROOPS SOLD BY THEIR DUKE TO FIGHT IN THE AMERICAN WAR



1776, our representatives unanimously passed the Declaration of Independence.

It was drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and William Livingstone, and signed by every member of the Congress, with Hancock, the president, at their head.

"We must all hang together now," said one member anxiously.

"Yes," supplemented Franklin cheerfully, "or we shall all hang separately." He had been in England, had faced the fury of the King's friends, and he knew of what he spoke.

The passage of the Declaration was received with tremendous enthusiasm throughout the country. With the news of it the North heard also of another success. On June 28 a large British fleet had tried to capture Charleston in South Carolina, but had been repulsed with heavy loss by only four hundred men under Colonel Moultrie.

Now, however, came a series of disasters. England had at last awakened to the magnitude of the task she had undertaken. She soon had forty thousand well-disciplined troops in America; and the real war, stern, grim, and terrible, began. General Howe, who had sailed with his forces to Canada, returned heavily reinforced and attacked New York. An American army of defence gathered on Long Island under General Putnam; but it was surprised and defeated in the battle of Long Island. Putnam lost two thousand men, and his entire force was threatened with capture. Washington, however, took it in hand and saved the remnant by a masterly retreat. He dared not risk another battle, and abandoned New York to Howe. The British entered the city September 14, 1776, and held it till the close of the war.

The American militia were badly demoralized by their first defeat. Everything was in doubt and confusion, and a young patriot officer, Nathan Hale, offered to secure the information about Howe's movements which Washington so much needed. Disguised as a schoolmaster, Hale entered the British lines, was caught, and, in accordance with the military law, was hanged as a spy. As he stood with the rope about his neck, abused and browbeaten by his brutal captors, he answered them in those noble words: "My only regret is that I have but one life to give for my country."

Others were less loyal. A traitor betrayed Fort Washington, which the Americans had erected on the highlands north of New York City. It was stormed by surprise, and its entire garrison of nearly three thousand men were either slain or captured (November 16, 1776).

Flushed with triumph, General Howe sent his second in command, Lord Cornwallis, to capture Washington and his diminished forces, and end the war. Washington's second in command, General Lee, betrayed him and managed for

a time to deprive him of half his little army. With the remnant, Washington fled across New Jersey, so closely pursued that often as his men left one end of a town, their foes entered the other. At last he escaped across the Delaware River into Pennsylvania and seized all the boats at hand, to prevent Cornwallis from following.

The cause of America seemed lost indeed. Scarce three thousand exhausted and defeated troops still clung to Washington's support. Congress, at the near approach of the British, fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore. It had no funds and no way to raise them, except by issuing paper money, promises to pay, which it might never be able to fulfil. This it poured forth in quantities, until every one laughed at the "continental" money, and \$2,000 of it was needed to buy a suit of clothes. When folks wanted to express utter contempt for anything, they declared it was "not worth a continental."

With no other resources than these, how could Congress get supplies for even the shadow of an army under Washington? It was midwinter, but his troops were in rags, unpaid, almost starving. As they retreated across New Jersey, the country people, cowed and bewildered by the sudden turn of events, fled from them and sought to secure their own safety by crowding humbly to the British camp. Washington himself discussed with his officers the probability of their having to retreat beyond the Alleghany Mountains, and defend themselves in the wilderness.

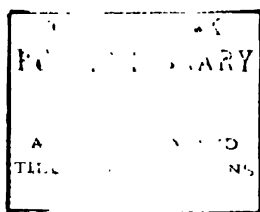
Two things saved the American cause. One, and its importance must not be underrated, was the savagery of the invading army. War is ever a hideous thing, but perhaps its most unspeakable bestiality is only revealed when a prostrate land lies at the mercy of ignorant foreigners, who cannot even parley in their victims' language. Had it been possible to keep the hired Hessians in restraint during their occupation of New Jersey, the State might never have been recovered to the patriot cause. But the strangers were allowed free rein, and their excesses were such as no free people could endure. Fierce, reckless little uprisings began to flare all over the State; and from that time the anger of the Jerseymen against England grew hotter than ever that of Massachusetts had been.

The other and even greater bulwark of our strength lay in the high spirit of our leaders, whom misfortune could not crush. In the very depths of defeat, Congress proclaimed that no concession to Great Britain was longer possible, and it conferred on Washington an authority which made him almost a Dictator. The defence of America was thus placed solely in his hands, and gloriously did he prove himself worthy of the trust.

So great does our national hero appear in other respects, that his countrymen have been perhaps inclined to overlook his military skill. The aged Fred-



SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE



erick the Great of Prussia, himself the foremost general of the century, after studying the ten days' campaign that Washington now carried through, declared that it had never been surpassed in military brilliancy.

The British, unable to cross the Delaware, established themselves in comfortable quarters in New Jersey. One of the Hessian generals, suggesting their insecurity, was told by the over-confident English, that New Jersey might now be kept in order by a corporal's guard. Washington did not think so. By great exertions his officers had raised some fifteen hundred volunteers in Pennsylvania; and with the pick of these and his own ragged followers, twenty-five hundred in all, Washington, on Christmas night, 1776, made his famous passage of the Delaware. Crossing through the floating ice, he suddenly assailed a force of Hessians at Trenton. They were utterly unprepared, deep in a Christmas carousal, and made scarcely any defence. Nearly a thousand were taken prisoners, and, loaded with captured supplies, Washington withdrew again across the river.

While the astonished Cornwallis was hastily gathering his scattered troops, Washington and his men appeared once more in Trenton. Overwhelming forces of the British hurried to confront them; the Delaware became so filled with ice that its further passage seemed impossible. "I have the old fox at last," cried Cornwallis, and went to bed on the night of January 2, 1777, secure in that belief. During the darkness Washington and his army slipped away, leaving their camp fires burning to deceive the enemy. The next morning they were near Princeton, ten miles away, and there attacked Cornwallis' rear guard. Washington led his men in person, and once more stood in such peril as when the Indians chose him as their foremost target at Braddock's disaster. Once more by the merciful wisdom of Heaven he escaped unhurt. The British were completely defeated, Cornwallis' line of communication with New York was broken, and his stores were captured.

Washington, fairly equipped now with the necessities of war, withdrew to the heights of Morristown, whence he could attack any supplies that were passing; and Cornwallis, instead of advancing to the capture of Philadelphia, found himself confronted with the alternative of retreating to New York or attempting a winter siege of his skilful and daring antagonist. He chose the former course and abandoned almost the whole of New Jersey.

In the spring of 1777, King George insisted that more vigorous efforts should be put forth to conquer the rebellious colonies. Since the Middle States had proved least devoted to the American cause, it was planned to split America in two, by taking possession of the entire Hudson valley. New England, thus isolated from the South, could be crushed at leisure. Months were

spent in preparation, and then a strong army left Canada under General Burgoyne, and advanced down Lake Champlain.

The New York and New England militia hastily gathered to oppose the invasion. Washington sent to their assistance such troops as he dared spare, and the command was in the hands of the able and patriotic General Schuyler. This officer's first object was to delay Burgoyne's advance until the militia had time to assemble, and so ably did he perform his task by breaking bridges, felling trees across the road, and once by a dam turning a whole river into it, that Burgoyne was twenty days getting from the foot of Lake Champlain to Fort Edward on the Hudson, a distance of barely as many miles.

The British had brought many Canadian Indians as their allies, and the barbarity of the redmen soon made the north country as bitter as New Jersey had become. One after another of the expeditions which Burgoyne sent out to gather supplies and tory recruits, was either repelled or completely cut off. At last, with less than seven thousand men remaining, he came to a standstill at Saratoga. His southward way was blocked by an army of militia already far outnumbering his own forces, and growing larger every day. It was composed of men of the same resolute stamp as had fought at Bunker Hill.

At this juncture, Congress unwisely picked out a favorite of its own, General Horatio Gates, and sent him to supersede Schuyler. Fortunately the real work of defeating Burgoyne had been already accomplished, and even Gates, a weak and incompetent officer, if not a coward, could no longer make a failure of the campaign. It was a case where an army commanded its general. Twice Burgoyne attempted to force his way onward, and neither time did Gates appear on the field of battle. He even arrested his second in command, General Benedict Arnold, lest the latter should "do something rash." Arnold evaded the arrest long enough to lead one splendid charge in the second battle of Saratoga, but mainly it was the men themselves and the subordinate officers who repelled the Britons by their own unaided courage, without military leadership.

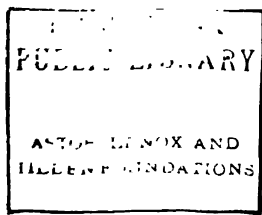
Burgoyne, unable to break through their lines, found himself surrounded. His supplies were cut off, no help reached him from New York, and at length, on October 17, 1777, his whole starving army surrendered as prisoners of war.

The reason no troops marched northward from New York to join Burgoyne was that Howe, early in the year, sent most of the forces from there to capture Philadelphia. Washington's skill prevented them from taking the direct route across New Jersey, and after wasting much valuable time on the effort, they went by water through Chesapeake Bay. The feeble army of Washington proved this time unable to check them. He risked a battle at Brandywine Creek, but was defeated, and Philadelphia fell.

The American leader then planned a dashing attack upon the British troops



FRANKLIN AT THE COURT OF FRANCE



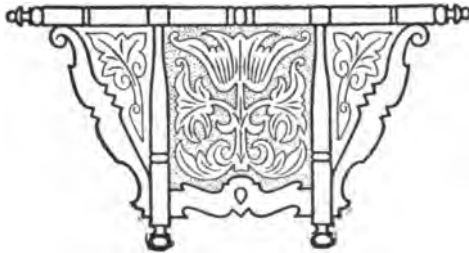
encamped near the city, at Germantown. Several British regiments were put to flight, but blundering in a heavy fog, two American detachments fired on each other, and our troops fell back in a confusion equal to that of their enemies. Washington did, however, so hamper and delay every movement of the English that Howe kept drawing reinforcements from New York, and there were not sufficient troops there to advance up the Hudson until October. Then a small force started to Burgoyne's relief; but it was too late, his army had surrendered.

It would be difficult to overstate the astonishment in England at this capture of an entire British army, generals, flags, cannon, supplies, and all. No such catastrophe had befallen their arms for centuries. Even King George wrote to his prime minister, Lord North: "The time may come when it will be wise to abandon all North America but Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Floridas." Powerful, indeed, must have been the lightning flash which had so illumined that stubborn brain.

The effect was still greater upon our friends. Benjamin Franklin had been in France for over a year, endeavoring to persuade that country to lend us aid. Much, however, as France desired to avenge herself upon England, her government had hesitated over recognizing us and thus again embroiling their country with Great Britain. The surrender of Burgoyne, following upon Washington's brilliant Trenton campaign, convinced France that the colonies could defend themselves. From this followed the deduction that they were also valuable allies; and on February 6, 1778, France and the "United States of America" entered into an alliance of war against Great Britain.

When that news reached England on top of the Burgoyne disaster, the friends of King George abandoned their defiant attitude in haste, and Parliament, with scarce a dissenting voice, despatched envoys to America to offer the colonies freedom from taxation, representation in Parliament if they wished it—everything, in short, that they had ever asked for—except Independence.

Congress even before it knew of the French alliance, rejected these overtures. Our leaders insisted that America would never abandon the position which she had taken among the independent nations of the earth.



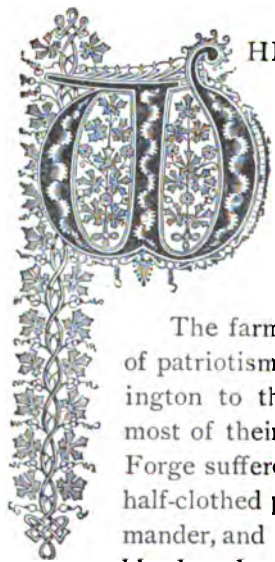


THE "BONHOMME RICHARD" AND THE "SERAPIS"

Chapter XII

THE REVOLUTION—FRENCH AID AND VICTORY

[*Authorities* : Sabine, "Loyalists of the American Revolution"; Fisher, "The True History of the Revolution"; Maclay, "History of the United States Navy"; Greene, "General Greene"; Doune, "Correspondence of George III."]



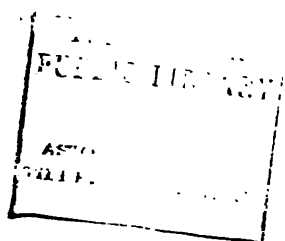
WHILE important negotiations were thus occupying the winter of 1777-78, Washington and his little army were suffering pitiably at Valley Forge in Pennsylvania. The previous winter at Morristown they had been fairly well supplied, but now Congress was in such straits for money that it could do nothing; and the foe, securely posted around captured Philadelphia, offered no such opportunities as at Trenton and Princeton.

The farmers of Pennsylvania had not yet reached such a height of patriotism as to prefer the worthless "continental" money of Washington to the yellow gold of the British troops, and they carried most of their produce to Philadelphia, while the Americans at Valley Forge suffered almost the pangs of starvation. But these shivering, half-clothed patriots were true heroes now, worthy of their great commander, and they endured with a patience which made his great heart bleed, and called forth such letters to Congress and such stern orders to the country people around, as somehow brought in food enough to keep the American troops alive.

While thus battling for his men, Washington had to face yet another danger. The friends of General Gates in Congress, not satisfied with having won him the credit of Burgoyne's surrender, plotted to have him supersede



WASHINGTON IN PRAYER AT VALLEY FORGE



Washington as the American Commander-in-chief. For this purpose they viciously assailed our great chieftain, imputing to his mismanagement every disaster the American cause had endured. Luckily, however, the scheme was exposed, and in the end brought shame only upon its authors. With the nation at large, Washington's honor stood too high to be imperilled.

Foreign officers began to join us. The Prussian general, Baron Steuben, trained our troops at Valley Forge, until their skill and discipline were not inferior to that of the British regulars. From France, first of his countrymen to rally to Freedom's cause, came the famous Lafayette. Without waiting for his country's alliance, this ardent young hero fitted out a ship at his own expense and joined our army during the campaign around Philadelphia. Washington made him his chief aide at Valley Forge, and a firm and lasting friendship sprang up between the two noble men.

This was the last winter during which our troops underwent such intense suffering. With spring came the French alliance, and one most valuable thing which this brought us was the money we so sorely needed. It brought us also the assistance of a fleet to match against the British vessels. Thus the whole war in this, its second period, assumes a different aspect.

Many Englishmen thought that their general, Howe, had never really tried to overcome the Americans. Severer measures were insisted upon, and Howe at his own request was recalled to England. His successor, Sir Henry Clinton, decided to reunite his divided forces, and, abandoning Philadelphia, he retreated across New Jersey to New York. Washington, hastily following him, attacked his rearguard at Monmouth, hoping to capture its stores. The assault failed, owing to the movements of General Charles Lee, the leader who had abandoned Washington on the retreat from New York. This man was the first great traitor to the American cause; but he escaped general obloquy, the full infamy of his connection with the British not being made plain until a letter from him to Howe was unearthed in recent years.

There were no further important movements in 1778. A powerful French fleet did indeed arrive upon our coast under Admiral D'Estaing, but ill fortune seemed to attend it from the start, and its only service lay in its restraining influence upon the British.

The Iroquois Indians, who had been roused by Burgoyne, were now joined by tories more savage than themselves, and committed cruel massacres upon the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania, especially at Wyoming and Cherry Valley. In 1779 General Sullivan was sent to punish the Indians. He defeated them completely and destroyed their homes and crops all through central New York, so that many perished of hunger. The Iroquois never recovered from this blow; their power was ended.

It was also in 1779 that General Wayne, "Mad Anthony," made himself famous by his successful storming of Stony Point on the Hudson. At the head of but a few hundred men with unloaded muskets, he crept unperceived close to the works, and then carried them at the point of the bayonet. Seventeen of the twenty men in the "forlorn hope" that headed his attack were slain. The main column, however, suffered little loss, and the garrison of nearly six hundred men was captured, together with large quantities of valuable military stores.

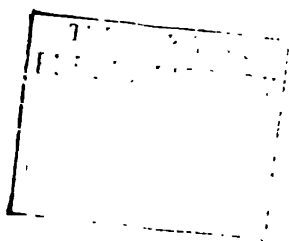
This was the last serious battle in the North. The war languished, for England had her hands full abroad. All Europe had long been offended by her overweening arrogance, and her foes eagerly seized this opportunity of her unexpected difficulties to repay old injuries. Spain joined France and America against her, and in 1780 Holland was added to the hostile alliance. Under these circumstances England made no further efforts at actual conquest in the regions where she had been so sharply rebuffed. Her avowed policy toward the colonies became merely to harry and harass them, so that they should be "of as little avail as possible to their new connections." Marauding expeditions plundered and burned the towns along the coast, but the only city permanently occupied was New York.

Some retaliation for this cruel form of warfare was inflicted by the American privateers. As early as 1775, Congress had made efforts to form a navy, and while this never amounted to anything in number of ships, a large auxiliary force of privateers was fitted out by individual patriotism or cupidity to prey upon British commerce. In the year of 1779, over three hundred of England's merchant ships were captured or destroyed, and her trade in Western waters was ruined. In this year also Paul Jones made his famous fight against the "Serapis."

Commodore John Paul Jones, by splendid courage and seamanship, had won his way to the head of our infant navy. He resolved to avenge upon the English some of the damage they had been wantonly inflicting upon our unprotected shores. Through the entire year of 1778 he ranged along the British coast, burning and plundering, though in but feeble imitation of the cruel English ravages here. It seemed to the British, however, quite a different case, and they vowed that the "pirate," as they called Jones, should be hanged as soon as he was caught. He succeeded in eluding their utmost efforts, defeated a sloop-of-war stronger than his own tiny ship, and brought his prize to France, where he was received with high honor. In 1779 he was given command of a little squadron, which was mainly French, only his flagship, the "Bonhomme Richard," having an American crew. With this following, he set out once more to teach England that two could play at the game of plundering.



LAFAYETTE OFFERING HIS SERVICES TO WASHINGTON



After a successful cruise he fell in with a British convoy, at the head of which was the "Serapis," a man-of-war about equalling the "Bonhomme Richard" in size and the number of her crew. The two vessels instantly singled each other out as antagonists, while lesser contests went on around them.

The "Serapis" was one of the best fitted ships in the English navy; Jones' vessel was an old hulk hastily patched up. Her heaviest guns burst at the first fire and reduced her almost to a wreck. Nevertheless, the fight continued for four hours. The "Serapis" came too near her disabled antagonist, and Jones himself lashed the two ships together, so that the sailing abilities of the enemy were lost, and the contest was fought out side by side. One of the French ships approached, but, instead of attacking the foe, her commander, actuated by jealousy of Jones, deliberately fired volley after volley into the helpless American vessel. Then he sailed away. "Do you surrender?" cried the English captain, Pearson. "I have not yet begun to fight," responded our unconquerable hero.

Over a hundred British prisoners from various prizes were on board the sinking "Richard," and these, their prison smashed to pieces, came pouring up to the decks. A step, and they might have been in safety on the "Serapis"! But Jones cried out that the enemy was sinking, and set the prisoners to man the pumps of his own vessel as their only chance of life. Pistol in hand, he kept them at the work while his own men fought the ship. At last, since Jones would not surrender, Pearson did. The "Bonhomme Richard" was so shattered that she sank, and Jones returned to France in command of the almost equally battered English ship. Pearson was made a knight by the English Government for his long and heroic defence of the "Serapis." "He deserves it," said Jones heartily; "and if I meet him again, I'll make a lord of him." It would be hard to conceive a more glorious opening for the proud records of our navy!

Meanwhile, England, having tested the American power of resistance in New England and in the Middle States, resolved to see what could be done in the South, where the tory element was strong. In 1779, Georgia was overrun without much resistance, and was practically reclaimed as a British province. A vigorous attempt to recapture Savannah was made by French and Americans combined, but it ended in a disastrous repulse. In 1780, South Carolina was also lost to the patriot cause. General Clinton besieged Charleston with so overwhelming a force that its commander, General Lincoln, had to surrender with five thousand men. Clinton then returned to New York and left Lord Cornwallis in command in the South. By his active and well-conducted expeditions, Cornwallis soon had all South Carolina under his control, and he threatened to hang as rebels all who offered any further opposition.

The remnant of the patriots were compelled to adopt a mere guerrilla warfare. General Francis Marion and others almost equally noted kept their little bands hidden in the impenetrable swamps. From these depths they made sudden, dashing raids upon the English, and were away again before a sufficient force could gather against them. So successful were they that Cornwallis was nonplussed. He desired to advance into North Carolina and add another captured State to his triumph, but he dared not leave Marion behind.

At this juncture, Congress came to the aid of Cornwallis by appointing its old friend General Gates to take command in the South and retrieve the falling cause. The captor of Burgoyne found in North Carolina a small force of regular troops, whom Washington had sent thither. The local militia joined these, and, as rash now as he had once been timid, Gates rushed his little army forward into South Carolina. When the men reached Camden, sick, hungry, and exhausted from long marching, he hurled them against Cornwallis' more numerous and well-conditioned troops. The weary patriots fought desperately, but the contest was hopeless. Gates himself was the first to see this, and he led the flight of the Carolina militia from the field. Being the best mounted, he rode fastest, continued his flight to the very borders of Virginia, and never saw the bulk of his army again. The battle of Camden ended his extraordinary military career.

The autumn of 1780 was a period of depression in America. Cornwallis seemed advancing irresistibly in the South. In the North, Washington held the British in check, but could not prevent their ravaging exposed points along the coast; and the policy of thus slowly wearing out America's resources seemed to promise success.

This was also the time of Arnold's treason. Benedict Arnold, one of our most brilliant generals, the hero of Quebec and of Saratoga, beloved by our people, was harshly treated by Congress, and in revenge attempted to betray West Point into the hands of the British. The command of this important stronghold would have enabled them to control the Hudson valley and divide the colonies in two, as they had planned to do by Burgoyne's ill-fated expedition. So Arnold was given every encouragement in his treason, and promised the rank of an English general. Fortunately, the messenger, Major André, sent to arrange the betrayal, was intercepted. He was hanged as a spy, and Arnold fled to the protection of his new friends.

The winter of 1780 proved very severe, and once more the American troops had to endure great privations. Some even mutinied and marched to where Congress was in session, to demand pay or at least food and clothing. The English general, Clinton, delighted at this news, sent emissaries to the mutineers promising to pay them all and more than they said was due them, if they



THE MASSACRE OF WYOMING

7. *Conclusions*

would only put themselves under his protection in New York. But, though mutinous, the men were patriots, and they promptly handed their tempters over to Washington as spies. They refused even to accept the usual reward for a spy's capture, declaring that they only wanted justice. Their grievances were redressed.

Unfortunately, their success tempted other regiments to imitate them. A general upheaval seemed imminent, but Washington resolutely checked it by executing two of the leaders in the second revolt. Quiet was restored, and the troops returned to their former heroic endurance.

The year of our final triumph, 1781, opened still more gloomily—the darkness before the dawn. A force of twenty-five hundred British, sent out from New York under the traitor Arnold, landed in Virginia early in January, and ravaged far and wide across the unfortunate State. The little bands of militia which attempted to stop them, were easily dispersed, and the enemy established themselves on the seacoast, to make there a permanent base, such as they already held at Savannah and Charleston. It appeared as if Virginia also must be lost to the American cause.

Meanwhile, General Greene, Washington's ablest lieutenant, had superseded the defeated Gates in the general command of the South. No reinforcements could be sent him, and it did not seem as though even genius could accomplish much with the few scattered remnants of a defeated army, to oppose to the triumphant veterans of Lord Cornwallis.

One gleam of light had already come to the despairing Southerners late in the fall of 1780, even before Greene assumed command. One of Cornwallis' ablest commanders, Colonel Ferguson, was defeated at King's Mountain by a band of North Carolina frontiersmen, who had come down from the Tennessee Mountains to aid their countrymen. The accurate shooting of these sturdy pioneers proved more than a match for the bayonets of the British, and Colonel Ferguson's entire force of over a thousand men were either slain or captured.

This, however, was a mere drop in the bucket; and, early in 1781, Lord Cornwallis determined to advance his main force into North Carolina. He meant to reduce that State to the same exhausted submission as he had its southern neighbors. In the hope of preventing this, Greene dispatched a small force under General Morgan into South Carolina to distract the British attention. Cornwallis sent Colonel Tarleton, the most dashing, most celebrated, and cruellest of English cavalry leaders, against Morgan. But Morgan's men were of the same type as those who had fought at King's Mountain. Though fewer in number than Tarleton's band, they faced him boldly at Cowpens (January 17, 1781). Three hundred of the British were killed or wounded, and over

five hundred taken prisoner. Only a small force of cavalry succeeded in escaping with Tarleton from the fatal field.

Then began one of the most remarkable retreats of which history has record. It was the dead of winter and marching was difficult; but Cornwallis, furious at this second defeat of his finest troops, hurried with his whole army to crush Morgan and recapture the British prisoners. Morgan, anticipating the enemy's move, retreated toward North Carolina. Each army strained every nerve. The Americans, encumbered by their unwilling prisoners, proved the slower of the two. Almost exhausted, they reached the banks of the Catawba River, when it was so swollen by the rains that its passage was very perillous. But Cornwallis was close behind, so cross they did; and the last boatloads had scarce pushed out from the shore when the swift-coming British van stood upon the spot they had deserted.

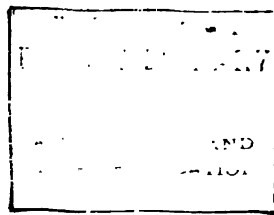
By this time the river ran so furiously that it was two days before Cornwallis could pass it. The Americans, feeling as though they had been saved by the direct interposition of Heaven, hurried rapidly northward. Soon the resolute Cornwallis was again upon their heels. Both armies rushed for the next large river, the Yadkin, and once more the Americans crossed its rising torrent just in time. Cornwallis, thundering close behind, found it impassable.

General Greene had by now joined Morgan's little band with the rest of the American army, so that if they must fight they would be all together. Still, however, they were too few to meet the foe, and the retreat was continued. Cornwallis, baffled, furious, but resolute as ever, pressed on in pursuit across the entire State of North Carolina. He kept now toward the sources of the rainfed rivers, where they were more easily forded, hoping that Greene might be stopped as the English had been. American ingenuity and daring found a way to cross every stream. Yet Cornwallis's unencumbered troops reached ever nearer and nearer to their prey. The Dan River in Southern Virginia was now Greene's only hope, and here, for the third time, he was successful. His hard-pressed troops were scarce across the raging, rising waters, when Cornwallis stood upon the southern bank.

He had advanced so fast and far that his supplies could not reach him. His men, splendid fellows though they were, could go no farther. They were as exhausted as the Americans, and would soon be as ragged; so their commander, perforce, abandoned the prey upon whose capture he had so surely counted. This remarkable flight and pursuit lasted for close upon a month, both armies traversing over two hundred miles of the wildest, most rugged, and most barren territory. Their route was at times almost impassable from mud, at times so hard frozen that the barefooted Americans left blood at every step. In its effect, the flight was an American victory; for had Greene's little force been



MARION AND HIS MEN



crushed, the last hope of successful resistance in the South would have disappeared. Now, as Cornwallis withdrew toward the seacoast, the country folk of both North Carolina and Virginia flocked to Greene's standard.

In a few days he resolutely recrossed the Dan River, and with his increased forces advanced against Cornwallis. The two armies met at Guilford Courthouse, and fought a bloody but indecisive battle. Most of Greene's newly joined militia found war little to their taste, and fled precipitously. His regular troops then retreated slowly and in good order. The British claimed the victory, but Cornwallis frankly admitted to his home government that his losses had been so heavy that a few more such successes would leave him without an army. He continued his retreat toward the seacoast, and the militia returned to Greene's standard, who from his defeat reaped all the fruits of a victory.

Cornwallis now determined on the bold plan of joining the English troops who were ravaging Virginia under Arnold. He probably expected Greene to follow him, but the American adopted the shrewder expedient of leaving Virginia to the enemy, while he himself marched southward through the Carolinas. By this means he recovered both of these States to the American cause. The garrisons which Cornwallis had left at various important points, were more than once able to defeat Greene's entire force, but so ably did he handle the situation that defeat continued to have for him the same results as victory gives other men. One by one the British garrisons were driven out or captured, until before the close of the year their forces were again confined to the single strong city of Charleston. The remainder of the Carolinas were in Greene's hands, and more firmly attached than ever to the cause of Independence. This whole remarkable campaign, wherein a more numerous and constantly victorious foe was made to work out its own complete defeat, must certainly rank among the marvels of military art.

The main seat of the war had shifted with Cornwallis to Virginia. General Arnold went back to New York, but his troops and ships, combined with some further reinforcements, swelled Cornwallis' effective force to about eight thousand soldiers and two thousand sailors. Lafayette had been sent with a small band of American regulars to oppose him, but these were totally inadequate to the purpose.

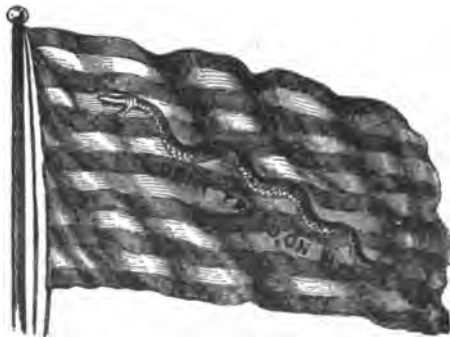
It was now that Washington planned his great final coup. A powerful French fleet was known to be on its way to the American coast, and Washington by threatening New York convinced Clinton, the English commander there, that he was to be attacked. In his anxiety, Clinton sent Cornwallis word to gather all the Virginia troops upon the Yorktown peninsula, entrench his lines, and send such regiments as could be spared, to aid in the defence of New York. Cornwallis obeyed orders to the extent of moving his troops to

Yorktown, but concluded that none at all could be detached from his own service.

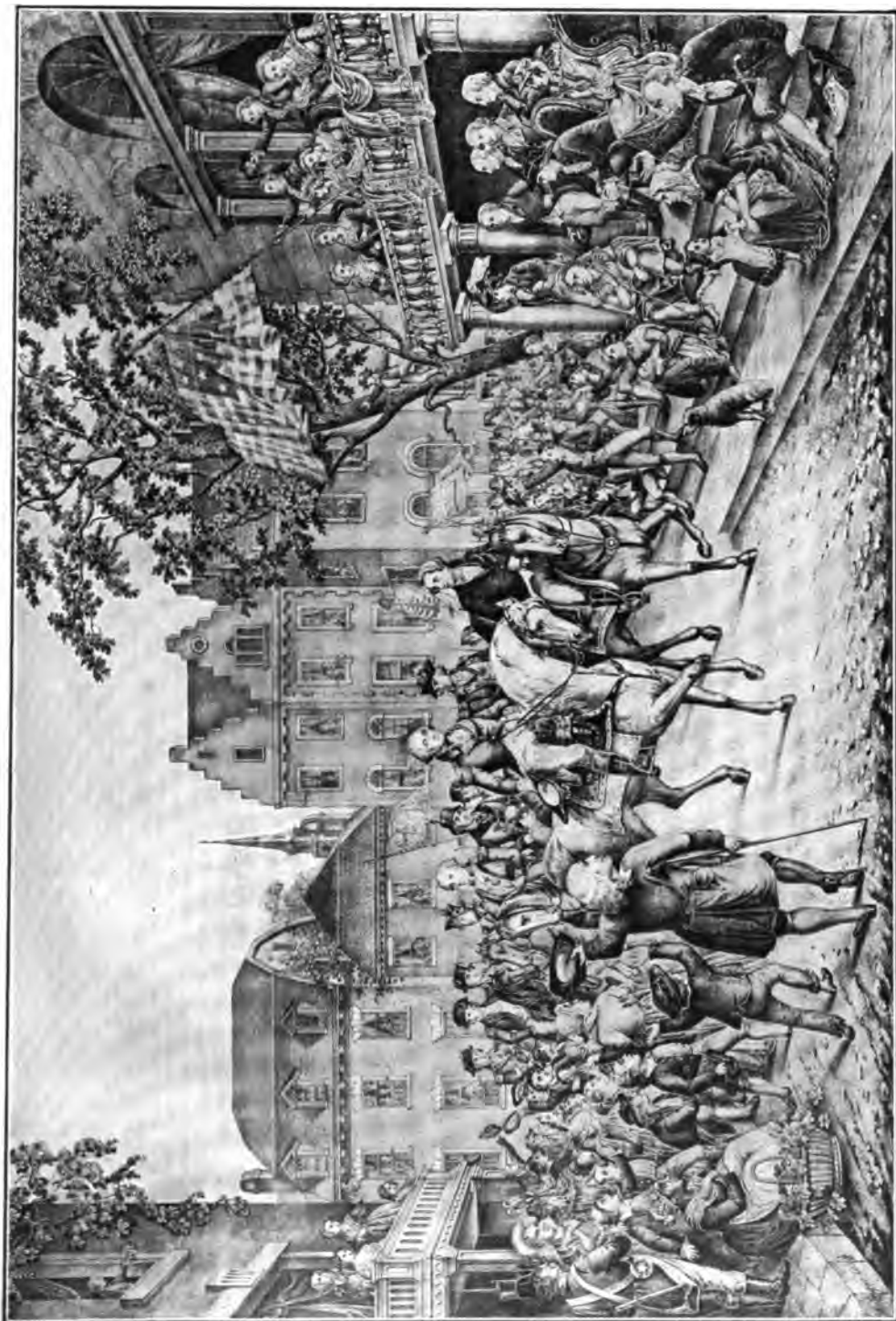
The expected French fleet arrived off Virginia instead of New York, and landed about three thousand troops, who, uniting with Lafayette, advanced toward Yorktown. At the same time Washington moved hither and thither around New York, still further bewildering Clinton, and then suddenly was off for Yorktown with all his forces. He was gone a week before Clinton realized it, and by that time it was too late to follow.

Thus Cornwallis was shut up in Yorktown by an army probably double his own, and the French fleet prevented his escape by sea. It was late in September before all the troops of the allies reached Yorktown, but then the siege progressed rapidly. French and Americans vied with each other in storming Cornwallis' outlying fortifications. He tried to force his way through their tightening lines, but was repelled. His means of resistance were exhausted, and on October 19, 1781, he surrendered himself and his entire army to Washington as prisoners of war.

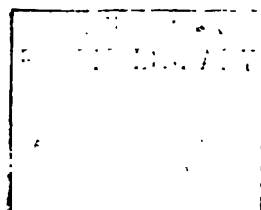
A second British army even stronger than Burgoyne's had thus been conquered by the despised Americans, and the war was at an end. The English Government did not immediately realize this, King George declaring he would never yield. But the English people insisted that the ill-advised and unfortunate contest should close. In 1782 commissioners came again from England as they had in 1778, but this time they were authorized to acknowledge our Independence. A "peace ball" was celebrated in Virginia in honor of the French allies who had done so much to aid us, and the final treaty was signed at Paris, September 3, 1783. On November 25, of that year, the last of the British troops evacuated New York City, and the forces under Washington entered it in triumph. The thirteen united States of America were fully established and recognized as independent nations.



ONE OF THE EARLY FLAGS



WASHINGTON AND HIS TROOPS ENTERING NEW YORK, 1783



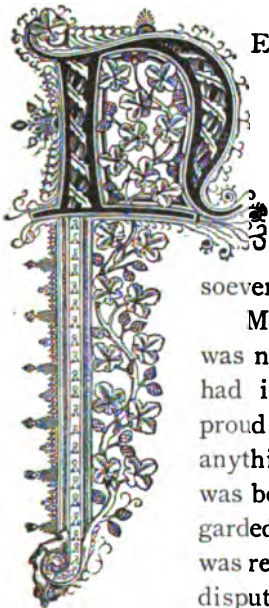


SHAY'S REBELLION

Chapter XIII

THE BUILDING OF OUR NATION

[*Authorities*: Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the United States"; Curtis, "History of the Constitution"; Hart, "Formation of the Union"; "The Federalist"; Gilpin, "Papers of James Madison"; Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on Virginia"; Bancroft, "History of the Constitution"; Bryce, "American Commonwealth."]



NEVER, perhaps, has a nation begun its career under conditions so unfavorable, so deplorable, as faced the thirteen American States at the close of the British war. The whole country had been impoverished, almost ruined, by the repeated British raids. The lower class of people, finding that their Government could not protect them, had lost respect for it, and indeed for all law of whatsoever kind.

Moreover, it must be remembered that the United States was not then a single and well-loved country. Each colony had in 1776 become a tiny independent nation, immensely proud of its separate existence and individuality, jealous of anything that might interfere with this. A man's patriotism was bounded by the narrow limits of his own colony. He regarded the others with friendly and perhaps cordial interest, but was ready enough to quarrel with them on occasion. Interstate disputes sometimes reached almost to the point of war.

At the close of the Revolution, the thirteen States were leagued together under the Articles of Confederation, which at the urgency of Congress they had adopted in 1781. But the new Congress elected under these Articles was as powerless as the former one. The jealous States refused it all authority to

bind their individual actions. This lack of power to enforce its commands had been the great difficulty confronting Congress throughout the war. It ordered; the States obeyed if they pleased, refusing more often than they complied.

Congress had thus grown ever weaker. Its promises could not be trusted; its authority was despised. To carry on the war it had been compelled to contract enormous debts. Only for the financial ability and generosity of Robert Morris, once the richest man in the country but beggared in its service, the Revolution must have collapsed long before its successful issue. Money was obtained partly by loans from foreign nations, partly by the "continental" paper money or promises to pay, which Congress so freely issued.

The individual States refused to assume these debts; they had heavy financial burdens of their own. Even after agreeing to the Confederation, they would scarce pay the requisitions by which Congress called on them for money to meet its current expenses. The general Government was thus bankrupt and dishonored.

Congress got rid of the continental notes by the simple expedient of flatly declaring them worthless and refusing to redeem them. This seemingly dishonorable act did not, however, inflict much serious suffering or even arouse protest. The notes, as we have seen, had already sunk to a mere nominal value, and those who held them when they were finally repudiated were seldom the original owners, and had not in most cases given any considerable value for them. The foreign debts could not be so easily dismissed, and they continued as an ever-darkening shadow through all the period of the Confederation.

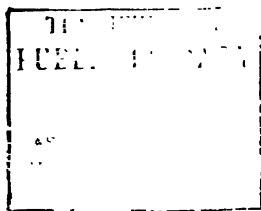
A yet more serious difficulty lay with the army. The war being over, what was to be done with the regular forces? Could these men be turned out ragged and penniless, to make their way back as best they could to homes perhaps ruined, to districts where they might find no employment or only the very lowest? The soldiers themselves had no idea of submitting to such a dismissal. They entreated Washington, their tried leader and trusted friend, to protect them, to secure them their just money dues. They even declared that America would be safest as a monarchy, and offered to make Washington a king.

There seems little doubt that had the great patriot so willed, he could have been the first American monarch, but he steadfastly refused. "If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself," he told his entreaters, "you could not have found a person to whom your schemes could be more disagreeable." He did, nevertheless, insist on Congress finding money for the men, and they finally dispersed. Washington bade adieu to the army, at the close of November, 1783, and set the final seal upon his splendid patriotism by returning



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THE "PEACE BALL" AFTER THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS



quietly to the society of his wife and aged mother at Mount Vernon, his Virginia home.

Yet another dangerous problem for the States lay in their conflicting claims to the territory west of the Alleghanies. By the treaty of 1783, Great Britain ceded to them all of this vast tract, east of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes. You will recall how vague and contradictory had been the original grants of land made by various kings to the founders of colonies. Virginia, the oldest, largest, and most powerful of the States, claimed that her boundaries extended indefinitely northward and westward beyond the Alleghanies. Other States claimed portions of this "Northwest Territory." Massachusetts and Connecticut asserted rights to what is now western New York. That State looked on Vermont as a part of her domains. Amid all these jangling quarrels agreement seemed impossible.

The neutral European powers began to take note of our existence. Prussia signed a treaty of "amity and commerce" with our commissioners, Franklin and Jefferson, at The Hague in 1785; and other nations soon followed her example. Yet unprejudiced observers freely predicted the dissolution of the American league. The country was so vast that news by the swiftest courier took two months to travel from one of its borders to the other. Such an empire, declared our critics, could not possibly be held together except by a single, strong, centralized government.

In part they were undoubtedly right, and, though material prosperity slowly returned to the country, the bonds of our Confederation grew weaker every year. In 1786, Massachusetts, whose inhabitants were supposedly the most law-abiding of all, had to face a revolt against the payment of taxes. These were so oppressive that many of the farmers declared that all land should be held in common. Rioting continued for several months, and "Shay's Rebellion," as it was called from one of its leaders, was only put down by the vigorous use of armed force.

The mountaineers in North Carolina elected a governor and legislature of their own, and declared themselves the independent State of Franklin. This little commonwealth existed over a year before it was abandoned. Spain, which temporarily owned Florida and also the territory west of the Mississippi and around its mouth, prevented the Americans from navigating the great river; whereon the pioneers in the Ohio valley prepared to go to war with her on their own account, and threatened to withdraw from the Confederation if they were not supported.

Should the Union, in the face of all these difficulties, be abandoned? Our ablest citizens said, No! They saw that the little separate States would waste their strength in war against one another, and thus divided must inevitably

fall a prey to the grasping Powers of Europe. One last effort was made to rouse them above their petty jealousies, and draw them into a firm and lasting body. A preliminary convention called by Washington himself met in 1786; and in 1787 the famous Constitutional Convention, authorized both by Congress and by the States, met at Philadelphia.

It consisted of fifty-five of the ablest men the country had produced. Neither John Adams nor Thomas Jefferson, the leaders of the revolutionary Congress, the great typical figures of our North and South, was present; for both were in Europe, the former as our representative in England, the latter in France.

But Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, and Robert Morris were among the members of the Convention. Washington was chosen its presiding officer, and the entire country awaited with anxiety and with respect the result of the important conference.

From its deliberations emerged the United States as we know it to-day, a single nation, firm, strong, and indissolubly united, with its people law-bound by their own hand, and freer thus than ever nation had been before. Let us look a little at the steps by which this grand result was accomplished.

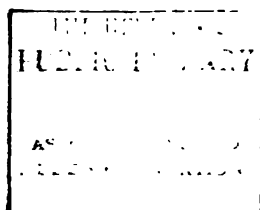
The Constitution was a series of compromises between the many conflicting interests of the States. Twice the Convention had nearly separated, in despair of ever being able to agree. The gloomy and disgraceful years under a helpless Congress had not, however, been wasted. They had shown everybody that some amount of power and real authority must of necessity be given to the central government. But just how much ought the States to yield? How much could they be persuaded to yield? Should an unwieldy and cumbrous Congress endeavor to enforce its own laws, or should a single man be placed at the head of the Union as its "Executive" or enforcing power? These were the earliest problems to be faced.

It was finally decided to have a President to enforce the laws, and he was to be elected indirectly by the entire people. Congress was given equal power with the States to lay and to collect taxes, and it was given complete authority in all national affairs, the States being restricted to their own local business. Moreover, the laws of Congress were declared the supreme law of all the land, and a "Supreme Court" was to be appointed by the President, with authority to decide all points of legal dispute.

These matters being substantially agreed upon, the Convention found itself confronted by yet more obstinately debated issues. Most difficult of all was the problem of the large and small States. Should representation in the new Government be according to population, or should each State have an equal vote? According to the first method, Virginia with its three-quarters of a mil-



JEFFERSON AND FRANKLIN SIGNING THE TREATY OF THE HAGUE.



lion people would outweigh little Delaware in the national councils by over a dozen votes to one. By the other system each individual Delaware citizen had more than a dozen times the influence of a Virginian. In the early Congresses and under the Confederation, every State had been regarded as a separate nation and had possessed an equal vote; but that was the very reason why the larger States had so frequently refused to be bound by Congressional decrees. It was impossible for them to accept dictation from a few scattered, sparsely inhabited settlements. Yet how could the little States be expected voluntarily to sink themselves into obscurity, by surrendering practically all voice and influence and independent sovereignty? We all know the compromise finally adopted. Congress was divided into two houses. In the Senate, each State was given equal representation; in the House of Representatives, the number was according to population.

Other serious difficulties arose between free and slave-holding regions, between seaboard and frontier, between communities engaged in trade and those in agriculture. Compromise was everywhere the order of the day. Some points were really left unsettled, and that is why we still dispute about tariff duties, that is why the great slavery war wellnigh disrupted our land. Most of the members of the Convention thought slavery was dying out of itself, and the question was considered less important than some others. "The slave trade is iniquitous," said a Connecticut member, "but inasmuch as the point of representation is settled, I shall not object." Thus were the seeds of disunion permitted to hide themselves even in this splendid document of our country's birth.

The labors of the Convention were completed in about five months. Probably no one of its members was fully satisfied with the result. They only accepted the Constitution as the best that could be agreed upon, as something infinitely preferable to disunion. Some few of them even refused to sign it, and went home to fight against its adoption.

Of course, the members could not themselves make their system binding upon their States. They merely recommended its adoption. The Constitution itself declared that it would be put into operation when nine States should accept it. For a while, such a time seemed never likely to arrive. Not a State, one might almost say not a man in America, but found objections to the proposed system. How could it be otherwise, when the whole scheme had been framed upon the mutual compromise of such deep-seated antagonisms!

James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay now performed perhaps the greatest of their many services to America. They published the "Federalist," a series of papers discussing each point of the Constitution with such

truth, such patriotism, and such far-sighted wisdom as brought all men to broader views.

It has been well said, too, that only the existence of Washington made our Union possible. To no other man would the American people, so lately escaped from the tyranny of King George, have entrusted the mighty power wielded by our President. The constant objection urged to the untried system was that a President might easily make himself a king. "But we have Washington to be our President," was the unanswerable response.

Each State had amendments it wanted to make before accepting the Constitution. Yet if one could amend, all could. The document would be torn to pieces, be nullified; and the work must be begun all over. One by one the objectors gave in, and offered their amendments simply as suggestions to the new Government. Twelve of these amendments, each reserving a little bit of power to States or individuals, were afterward added to the Constitution.

The first State to come under the "new roof" as it was called, was Delaware. Pennsylvania followed. Virginia, despite all the influence of Washington and Madison, wavered and was only the tenth to agree. Still closer was the fight in New York, where naught but Alexander Hamilton's earnest eloquence finally swung a hostile convention to his side.

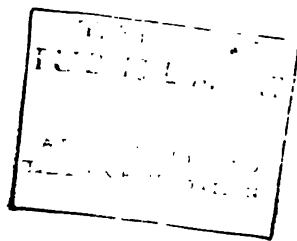
New York was the eleventh State, and the Constitution was assured. North Carolina and Rhode Island still held out. They did not, in fact, join our Union until after it was actually established and in operation. North Carolina entered late in 1789, Rhode Island in 1790.

Meanwhile, the old Congress declared the Constitution adopted, named New York City as the capital of the Union, called for elections, and set the first Wednesday of March, 1789, as the day when the new Government should go into operation. In the interim, Congress continued its sessions, and did us one service deserving memory. The various States had one by one resigned to the general Government almost all their claims to territory in the Mississippi valley, and in 1788 Congress organized a system of territorial government which has ever since been used for our "territories," or undeveloped States. The whole region north of the Ohio was set off as the "Northwest Territory," and a rush of settlers penetrated the distant but attractive land.

Meanwhile, the various States proceeded with their elections, and the newly chosen Senators and Representatives gathered at New York. The votes of the presidential electors could not be counted until the new Congress was organized, but there was no doubt felt anywhere as to their choice. When the ballots were formally opened, it was found that the "Father of our country" had indeed received an honor higher than has ever been accorded to any other American. There was not one dissenting vote. By an absolutely unanimous



FRANKLIN IN HIS PHILADELPHIA HOME IN 1787



The United States—Inauguration of Washington 1589

choice, George Washington had been elected the first President of the "United States of America."

For Vice-President, nothing like the same unanimity prevailed. Many men might fairly aspire to the honor. Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, the first leader of the Revolution; John Adams, his cousin, minister to England and leading orator in the Congress that declared our Independence; Thomas Jefferson, the writer of that famous Declaration; John Jay, the most prominent jurist of the country—each of these men had his advocates. It was generally felt that, with a Virginia man for President, a Northerner, probably from Massachusetts, should be given second place, and this had much to do with the success of John Adams, who received the largest number, though not a majority, of the votes and was declared elected.

Notice of Washington's election was despatched to him at Mount Vernon with all haste, and the new President proceeded to New York in great ceremony, his whole route lined with a grateful, cheering people. On April 30, 1789, he was inaugurated at "Federal Hall," where the New York sub-treasury now stands in Wall Street, New York.

They say he trembled as he took the oath of office, and at the end looked to Heaven and added: "I swear, so help me God." He was certainly agitated and nervous in his brief inauguration speech that followed. Most of us love him all the better for that; it recalls the hesitation with which he accepted command of America's cause in 1775, and we realize how solemnly he made, how sacredly he meant to keep, his vow.



WASHINGTON'S TRIUMPHAL ROUTE TOWARD NEW YORK



DEATH OF HAMILTON

Chapter XIV

THE EARLY DAYS OF STRUGGLE.

[*Authorities :* Walker, "The Making of the Nation"; Fiske, "Critical Period of American History," "Civil Government in the United States"; Johnston, "History of American Politics"; Stanwood, "History of Presidential Elections"; Gibbs, "Administration of Washington and Adams"; Lodge, "Washington," "Hamilton"; Morse, "Hamilton," "John Adams," "Jefferson"; Griswold, "The Republican Court"; W. Maclay, "Journal"; Thomas Jefferson, "Anas."]

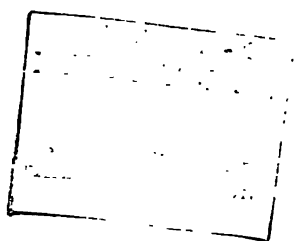


THE new Government was prosperous from its birth, though it must not be supposed that all difficulties disappeared the moment the Union was established. The advantage of having Washington at its head was manifest at once; for Congress trusted him, and in its eagerness to aid his work, created four powerful officials to be appointed by him and to serve as his assistants or "cabinet" of advisers. These were a Secretary of State, a Secretary of War, a Secretary of the Treasury, and an Attorney-General.

The discussion of the Constitution had already revealed the fact that there were two ways of "interpreting" it. Some men, desiring a strong central Government, construed the great document "liberally"; that is, stretched it so as to give all possible power to Congress. Some, clinging to the rights of the States, interpreted it "strictly," and would have Congress do nothing except what was specifically authorized in the Constitution. Most prominent of the "Federalists," as the friends of strong government came to be called, because they favored the Federation or Union, were Vice-President Adams and Alex-



WASHINGTON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS



ander Hamilton. Leader among the champions of the States was Thomas Jefferson.

Washington himself was strongly Federalist in his views, having seen how the American cause had been almost ruined by the weakness of Congress. But his main purpose was to establish a just and impartial government; and, having no desire to force his ideas upon the nation in defiance of those of other men, he invited both Hamilton and Jefferson to become members of his cabinet or official family. Jefferson was installed as Secretary of State, Hamilton of the Treasury. The two men had been personal friends, and despite their antagonistic views the combination government, for a time, worked harmoniously.

Hamilton put our exhausted finances in order. The man was a genius. "He touched the dead corpse of public credit," says Webster, "and it sprang upon its feet." His most important achievement was that of having the United States assume the individual debts of each State. This made every public creditor an earnest upholder of the new Government. Of course the scheme was strongly opposed by States whose debts were small. Party lines hardened into shape in Congress. Jefferson's supporters declared the Constitution gave no authority to assume these debts, and Hamilton only succeeded in carrying this and other financial measures by a compromise.

It was understood that New York was but a temporary capital. Northern men wanted the permanent site to be in the same latitude. Southerners wanted it nearer their own homes. Most of Hamilton's opponents were Southern men. A few of these agreed to support his financial measures, and he upheld them in placing the permanent capital on the banks of the Potomac. The agreement is said to have been reached over Jefferson's dinner-table. The District of Columbia was ceded to the Government, and it was arranged that Congress was to meet for ten years at Philadelphia and then to move to the city which should be specially built for it at Washington.

These earnest efforts at harmony and the balancing of conflicting interests might have been everywhere successful, but for the French Revolution. That terrific outbreak, which began in 1789, the very year of the formation of our new Government, soon involved us in its difficulties. We owed a great, an immeasurable, debt to France for her aid in men and money during the Revolution. All Americans were anxious to repay this, but the bloody excesses into which France soon plunged, revolted cooler men. When she hurled herself in defiant war against all Europe, we refused to follow. America was just slowly recovering from her own exhaustive struggle. To plunge into another contest against England would have been our ruin.

Washington declared that only after twenty years of peace could we take any strong position among nations. Leading men of all views agreed with him

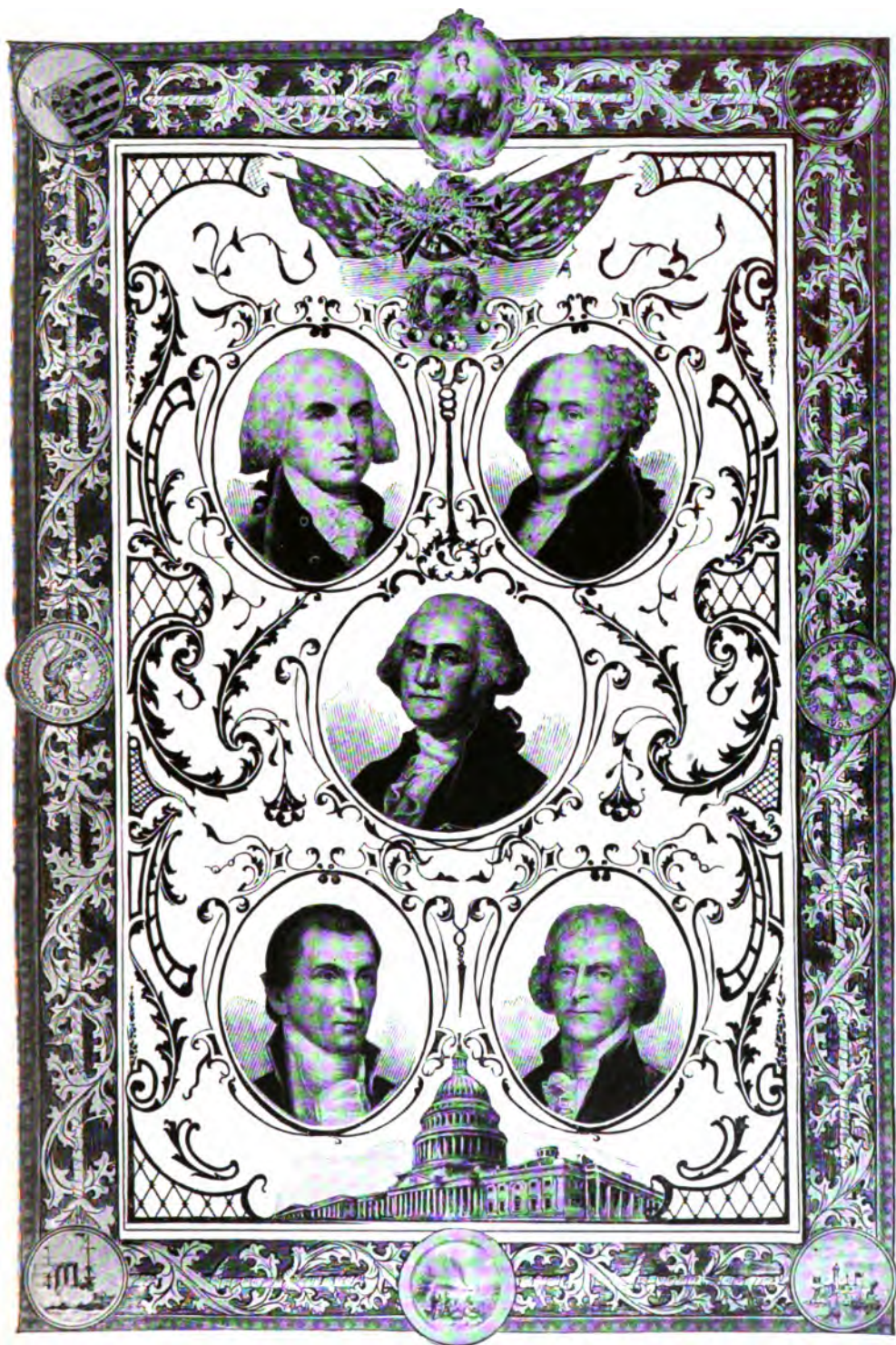
in this, even Jefferson, who as minister to France had become warmly in sympathy with her people. Jefferson, however, desired to favor our old ally as far as we possibly could without actual strife. Washington refused to attempt so dangerous a course, which might at any moment justify England in declaring war. He insisted on a strict neutrality, but the mass of our people naturally upheld Jefferson, who thus found himself at the head of a mighty party of the hot-headed and the unthinking.

The various political disputes began to take on a tone of bitterness unknown in their earlier stages. Jefferson was called a reckless demagogue. He, on the other hand, accused the Federalists, and especially Hamilton, of aiming at a monarchy. Washington himself was not spared by the virulent newspapers of the opposition; and as his first term of office drew to an end, our great leader, hurt and saddened, wished to resign his heavy responsibility and retire to his well-earned age of peace. But men of all parties joined in urging him to accept a re-election. Even Jefferson, who had personally instigated some of the newspaper attacks against the President, wrote to him that with affairs still at so critical a stage, no other man could hold the Union together. Convinced by these pleadings, Washington once more set aside his private wishes for his country's sake, and once more he was unanimously elected.

Scarcely had he resumed office (1793), when the French troubles rose to dangerous heights. France seemed to take our alliance for granted, and sent here as minister a M. Genet, who began enlisting men for the war, bringing English ships as prizes into our ports, and in all ways acting as if America were but a colony of France. Washington protested firmly, and Genet responded defiantly, refusing to recognize the President's authority, on the ground that in this matter it did not represent the "will of the people." He thus trampled under foot our infant system of government, and would have destroyed it. Nevertheless, the friends of France greeted him everywhere with banquets and celebrations. Washington demanded that France recall him for his insults to the Government.

Fortunately for our peace, the rapid changes in France had by this time placed in power a party opposed to Genet. They repudiated his actions and summoned him home. Fearing that he would be beheaded, he wisely preferred staying in America; and, abandoning his official position, he remained here as a private citizen, protected by the Constitution he had spurned.

The Genet incident revealed clearly the perils of our newly formed Government. It was as yet only a distrusted experiment. Our people had not learned the loyalty and patriotism, the pride in the "United States," which is the basis of its present strength. Many were quite ready to disband the Union the moment it displeased them. In the heat of dispute, even Washington was as-

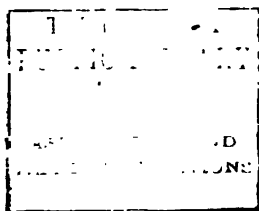


OUR FIRST PRESIDENTS

Madison
Monroe

Washington

John Adams
Jefferson



sailed with a violence of language which, as he sadly protested, "could scarcely be applied to a Nero, to a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pick-pocket."

Genet's outrageous insults to the Government, however, caused a reaction in its favor; men were resolved to protect it from such contempt. Even Jefferson repudiated Genet, and retained a place in Washington's cabinet until the tumult was over. But the ever-widening divergence between his views and those of the rest of the President's advisers made his position so impossible that he soon afterward resigned.

In addition to Jefferson's anti-Federalism and French sympathies, a third and even more deep-rooted difference of sentiment led to this division. Washington and the Federalists generally were afraid to trust the common people. They thought the views of the ignorant must necessarily be narrow, bounded by the immediate interests of the moment, easily swayed by demagogues, and readily carried to any extravagance of cruelty and folly. The excesses of the French Revolution served to intensify these beliefs, and the Federalists aimed more and more to restrict the free exercise of power by the people, and confine government to the hands of the educated.

Jefferson, on the contrary, undismayed by the horrors in France, professed a firm faith in the lasting honesty and good sense of the mass of the people, and urged that their unfettered will must be law. An aristocracy, he thought, would inevitably govern selfishly, for its own selfish preservation. His followers began to call themselves "Democratic-Republicans," from the old Greek word *demos*, meaning the common people.

It is worth while to remember these points of difference, for they were not surface disputes, perishing with the men who started them. They found their origin, for the most part, in the fundamental differences between man and man, and the present day sees political parties fighting the same old battles. Our Democrats still call themselves technically "Democratic-Republicans," and trace their party back to Jefferson. Our Republicans, though not in such direct descent, have inherited many of the doctrines of Federalism.

Let us, then, review once more the Jeffersonian principles. They included the upholding of the liberty of each State and individual, as opposed to a strong, central government with imperial power; the trusting of the masses, rather than their restraint under an aristocracy, and the seeking of friendship with France, Ireland, and the fiery southern nations, as against England and the colder races of the north.

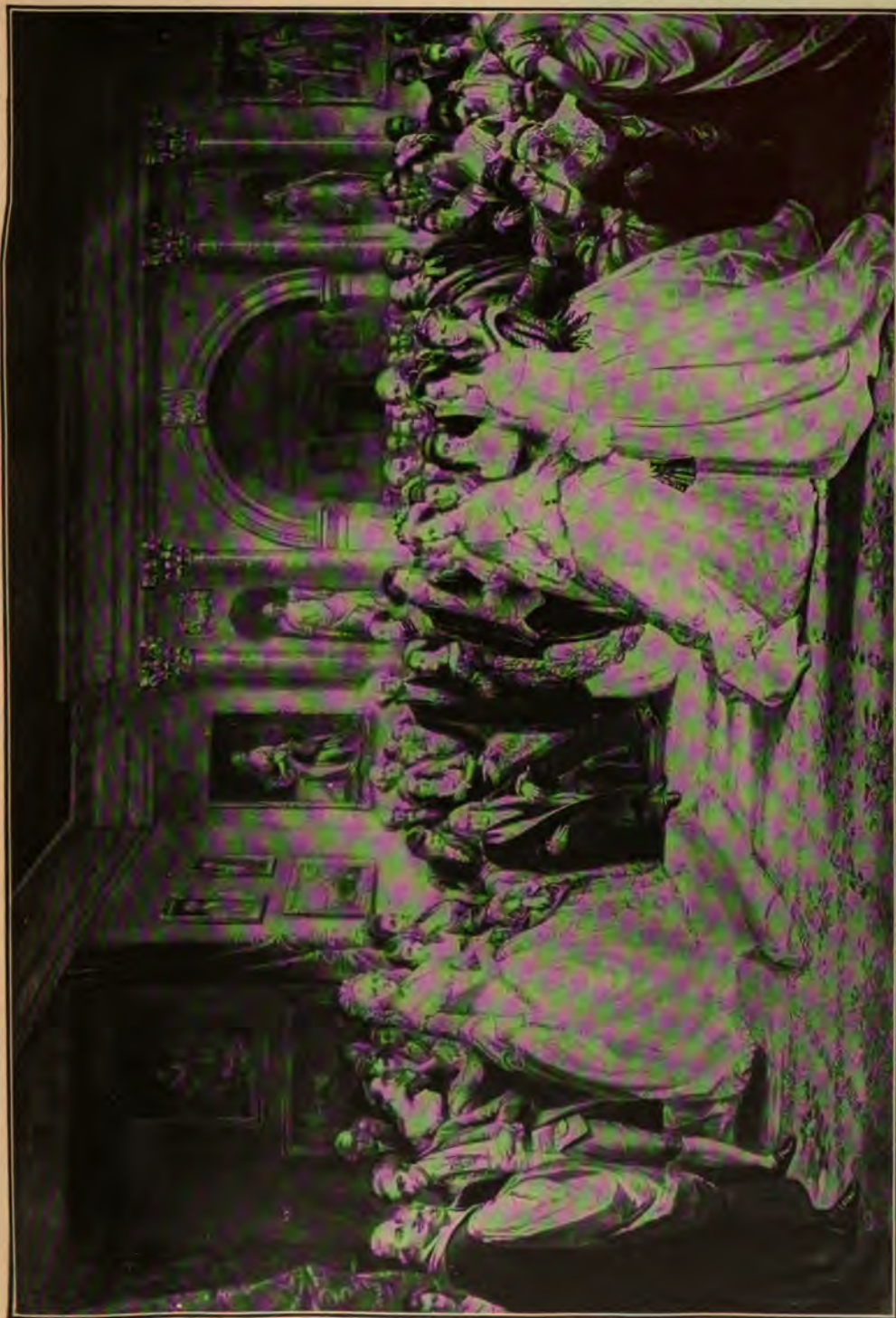
Two other of Jefferson's fundamental doctrines were those of economy and of simplicity. Since he wished the central government to do as little as possible, he naturally insisted that it should spend but little, and thus keep taxes

low. The other question, simplicity, was less trivial than it perhaps appears. Washington had thought it very necessary to impress upon the world the dignity and splendor of his high office. He drove about Philadelphia in a coach drawn by six white horses, and the receptions held by his wife, Lady Washington, were marked with a haughty stiffness and formality unknown to our day. Jefferson protested against all this ceremony. In later days, when he himself was elected President, he rode alone into Washington on horseback, and, dismounting, tied his nag to the nearest post. Whether we choose to regard this as the shrewd art of the politician who knew his constituents, or as the real unostentatious nature of the man, "Jeffersonian simplicity" undoubtedly became a very large factor in its originator's success.

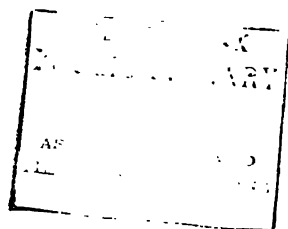
Twice during his second term Washington was obliged to employ military force. The first time was against the Indians in the Northwest Territory. They resented the intrusion of settlers into their lands and defeated two small forces despatched against them. Washington then sent General Wayne with a strong army. "Mad Antony" was the nickname Wayne had won in the Revolution, but now the Indians learned to call him "The-eye-that-never-sleeps." He harried them over hill and dale, defeated them in a decisive battle at "Fallen Timbers" (1794), and so completely broke their spirits that they sued humbly for peace.

In the same year (1794) arose the "Whiskey Rebellion." Hamilton's financial schemes had compelled the Federalists to lay heavy taxes on many things. The tax on whiskey bore specially hard upon the people of Western Pennsylvania, who manufactured it extensively. They rose in open rebellion, and in such numbers that Washington sent fifteen thousand troops to crush them. Confronted by this overwhelming force, the rebels dispersed without giving battle. The vigorous and successful action with which the President thus met every form of resistance to his authority, slowly reawakened in the minds of the people that respect for law which had wellnigh disappeared.

The partisan nature of the clamor against Washington over the Genet matter, and still more over a friendly treaty which he made with England, was clearly shown when his second presidential term drew to a close. The very "Democratic-Republicans" who had assailed him, admitted that he had been right in both disputed cases, and urged him to continue for yet another four years his wise and far-sighted guidance of the nation. But Washington pleaded his increasing age, which must soon make him a mere figurehead, while all real work would be in the hands of his subordinates. He pointed out also that one great danger to the nation lay in a President's using the power of his office to secure continued renominations, and thus to become practically a ruler for life. Washington therefore persisted in retiring, and thus did us one more



A PRESIDENTIAL RECEPTION UNDER LADY WASHINGTON



service by setting to the presidential term an eight-year limit, which never has been and probably never will be overstepped.

The farewell speech with which our great benefactor retired from office (1797) was full of such statesmanlike advice, such earnest prophecy of the future, that every American should know it by heart, as all who deeply love their country do. The United States was Washington's child, which he had reared and loved, and, as he pointed out the course it must pursue, not one selfish thought clouded his clear-seeing brain. He died in 1799 at Mount Vernon, honored and mourned as no other man has ever been. The world now sees his greatness as well as we, and Europe unites with us in placing him upon a pinnacle—alone.

Washington's retirement left the presidential field open. Jefferson was, of course, nominated by the Democrats. He towered head and shoulders above all others of his party. Among the Federalists the leadership was not so clear. John Adams claimed the nomination and received it. As Washington's Vice-President he had often been half-jestingly referred to as his heir. Nevertheless, the real leader of the Federalist policy, the man by whose measures the party must stand or fall, was Hamilton. He was not upon friendly terms with Adams, and the increasing bitterness between the two so divided their followers that the Federalists escaped political defeat by only the narrowest of margins. Adams had a plurality of but three in the electoral college, and, contrasting this with Washington's unanimous elections, he used bitterly to call himself the "President by three votes."

The vice-presidential choice of his party fell so far behind Adams that Jefferson stood second on the list, and according to the rule of the Constitution became Vice-President. The office thus became a check instead of a help to the administration.

President Adams (1797-1801) continued the resolute peace policy of his celebrated predecessor. England and France were still at war, and both countries treated our infant nation with harshness and contempt. It would be difficult to say which was most severe in its handling of our defenceless ships. Yet we could not possibly fight both! The only thing that kept us at peace, as Jefferson said in later years, was "the difficulty of selecting a foe between them."

The corrupt French Government swung the scale against itself in 1798, by flatly refusing to receive our ambassadors unless they paid money for the privilege, a heavy sum being demanded for the French treasury, and another for the private pockets of the governing "Directory." The insult was too deep to be borne, and the President found a united country once more behind him in his preparations for war. Washington was made general-in-chief, and Hamilton,

who had been his aide during the Revolution, was placed second in command, with the chances that, owing to Washington's age, Hamilton would be the acting general. Our ships at sea began fighting the French frigates with glorious success; but before war was actually declared, another change came over the volatile French Republic, and the new authorities were just a shade less offensive than the former ones. Adams, knowing full well the horrors of war, seized the opportunity to make peace, thereby still further alienating Hamilton and the extremists of his party.

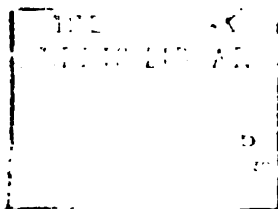
Blinded by the sudden return to popularity which had accompanied his course both in and out of this French affair, President Adams and his friends now determined to go yet further in the direction of strengthening the central government. They passed the celebrated "Alien and Sedition Laws." These were intended as a method of suppressing popular tumult. Adams had been subjected to even more contemptible press attacks than had wounded Washington, and many of the insulting firebrand papers were published by foreigners, Englishmen or Frenchmen, who worked openly for the cause of their own nations. The Alien laws gave the President authority to expel offending strangers from the country, and at the same time made it very difficult for emigrants to become citizens here. The Sedition law gave the Government great power over the press, in punishing whatever might be considered likely to arouse sedition or rebellion.

As a matter of fact, these laws were never enforced to any appreciable extent. But they ruined the Federalist party. People saw in them an attempt to destroy their liberties. Federalists had always been accused of a tendency toward monarchy and tyranny, and these Alien and Sedition Laws were esteemed a proof of the charge. The Virginia and Kentucky State Legislatures passed resolutions of "nullification," the first in our history, declaring the new laws were unconstitutional and should have no force within their borders. The Kentucky nullification paper was drafted by Jefferson himself, and it went so far as to assert that the States must be sole judges as to when the national government exceeded its constitutional power. The country refused to approve this extreme doctrine, which would have made our Supreme Court useless; but the principle continued to be widely held in the South, and we must remember it as one of the excuses for the Civil War.

These disputes started a flood of almost insane party abuse, which deluged the country and continued through the fourth presidential election. Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson were once more pitted against each other, and this time Mr. Jefferson won by a substantial majority. The Federalist period of power was over forever. The Democrats, the believers in the common people, were to essay the task of directing the nation.



THE BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBERS



For Vice-President the Democrats had nominated Aaron Burr, a brilliant man and unscrupulous politician, the party "boss" of New York State; and he had done much to insure their victory. Under the cumbersome electoral methods of the time, the party electors voted for both him and Jefferson, without designating which they meant for first and which for second place. Thus their vote, cast on strict party lines without one waverer, resulted nominally in a tie between the two men. This threw the election into the hands of Congress, and for a time it seemed as though the Federalists there would deliberately thwart the will of the nation by uniting with Burr's friends and making him our President. More honorable counsels finally prevailed, and Jefferson was elected. The complication caused the Twelfth Amendment to our Constitution, correcting the method of casting the electoral vote.

No one has ever denied that Mr. Jefferson (1801-1809) made one of our greatest Presidents. Federalists had cried out in frantic despair that his rule would mean anarchy and ruin; but, once placed in power, he proved himself as wisely conservative as even Washington had been. It is interesting to note that at one time or other he had to turn his back upon almost every surface doctrine he had advocated; but his great basic principle remained unchanged—he sought to follow the will of the people, to do as they desired; not to oppose, but to express their wishes.

He soon found himself in a dangerous position with regard to his old friend France. Napoleon was now in power there and had purchased from Spain the vast territory of Louisiana, covering all the region between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains. This gave France control of the mouth of the Mississippi. Weak Spain had allowed our Western States free use of the river; strong France might not. Jefferson declared himself ready to "wed our fleets and armies to those of England," to draw the sword if necessary, and "throw away the scabbard."

Fortunately, Napoleon needed money. He had little use for Louisiana, since England controlled the ocean between it and France, so he offered to sell us the whole of his newly acquired possession for \$15,000,000. Our President was placed in a new quandary. He had always insisted on a strict interpretation of the Constitution, whereas the very widest extension of its provisions scarce authorized him to buy empires and to double the extent of the land over which he ruled. He wanted an amendment passed to the Constitution to cover the case. But the necessity of immediate action, the inestimable value of the bargain, the urgency of his friends, all overswayed him. Louisiana became ours, and the Constitution was given a wrench such as Federalists had never dared expose it to (1803).

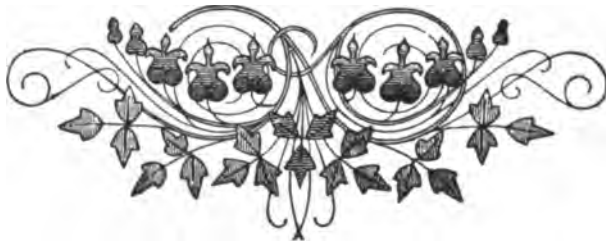
It seems strange to us now that there should have been found objectors

even to this purchase of Louisiana. We know it as the source of half our greatness; but some New Englanders saw in it the decline of their own power, the ultimate reduction of their States to an insignificant fraction in the mighty whole. The Union was not yet firmly consolidated, nor the States made subordinate to the Nation; and it is well to remember that no single district has had a perpetual monopoly of patriotism. New Englanders began to talk of secession just as Southerners had done under Federalist rule. Alexander Hamilton's last service to his country was a rebuke to his friends for even thinking of this abandonment of the Union they had built and served.

It was only the next year that Hamilton was shot in a duel with Aaron Burr, whom he had before prevented from being President, and whose plans for becoming governor of New York he now also frustrated. Little as some people had approved Hamilton's extremer measures, all admired his statesmanship and recognized his vast services to his country. He was universally mourned. Burr became an outcast, and a little later this ex-Vice-President was involved in treasonable plans against the government he had come so near to ruling.

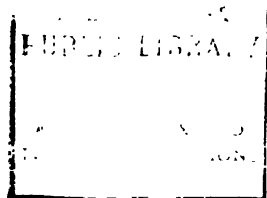
When the time came for another presidential vote, Jefferson was re-elected almost unanimously. He had proved himself so moderate, so generous and far-seeing, that the mass of Federalists gladly accepted his views in preference to the extremes toward which Hamilton had sought to hurry them. A few of the extravagant radicals among his former followers abandoned him; but his party, if party it longer can be called, included now almost the entire body of the nation, leaving only a few discontented fanatics at either end. For twenty years the Democratic-Republicans were practically unopposed in national elections.

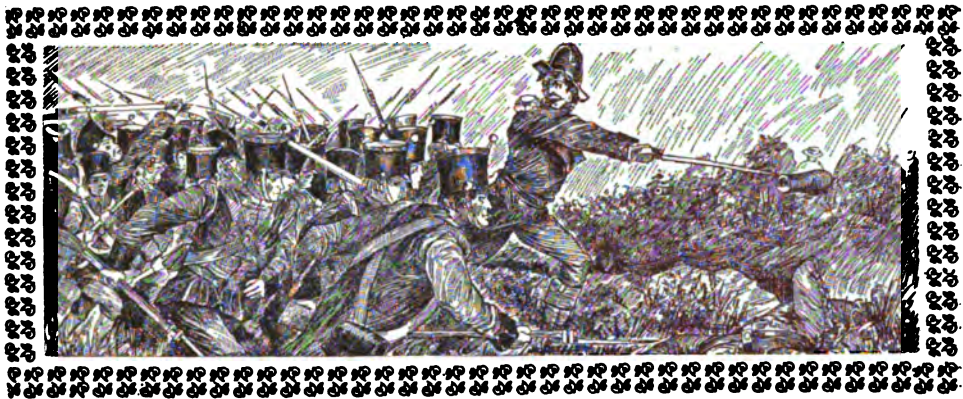
Thus three men stand out above all others in the early story of our Union. Washington drew all factions together and made the nation possible. Hamilton built it strong. Jefferson made it permanent on a basis of assured popularity.





GENERAL HARRISON'S CHARGE AT TIPPECANOE





PAKENHAM AT NEW ORLEANS

Chapter XV

THE WAR OF 1812

[*Authorities*: H. Adams, "History of the United States" (1801-1817); Roosevelt, "Naval History of the War of 1812"; Maclay, "History of the United States Navy"; Ingersoll, "Historical Sketch of the Second War"; Lossing, "Field Book of the War of 1812"; Coggeshall, "History of the American Privateers"; Kingsford, "History of Canada"; Rives, "James Madison."]



Not the opening of the nineteenth century the United States ships were the chief carriers of the ocean trade of the world. Widespread war in Europe had driven from the seas the merchant vessels of almost every other nation. Our Presidents had managed to keep us out of the turmoil, but even neutral vessels found it increasingly difficult to be permitted to trade with the belligerent Powers. Still the profits of the shipping were so great that our daring seamen persisted in their ventures, and the wealth of the country increased rapidly.

The American navy of the time, though small, was of the highest efficiency. In 1799, when we had seemed on the point of war with France, the American frigate "Constellation" fought and captured two French men-of-war, one a few months after the other. Our ships were too few to repress the insolence of England, but they did what all Europe had failed to do—checked the piracy of the "Barbary States," the African lands along the Mediterranean.

Every American boy has heard how Preble bombarded Tripoli, and Decatur burned the "Philadelphia." Both events occurred in the contest with the Barbary States. All the trading nations paid tribute to the African pirates, to save their ships from plunder. In 1801 the Pasha of Tripoli declared war

against America, because we had been slow in forwarding his money. The entire American navy was then assembled off the Pasha's capital, his ships were defeated, and his harbor was blockaded. But before its strong forts could be attacked, one of our frigates, the "Philadelphia," while pursuing an African ship, ran aground close in shore and was captured by swarms of the enemy. She was towed in triumph into Tripoli. Lieutenant Decatur determined to save or burn her. One night, with a small schooner and a picked crew, he sailed into the harbor like a merchantman. Pretending that his boat was unmanageable, he steered her purposely against the "Philadelphia," and instantly he and his men rushed up the frigate's side. Her numerous Tripolitan crew, terrified by the sudden, furious onslaught, plunged or were driven overboard, and Decatur, finding it impossible to get the "Philadelphia" out of the harbor, burned her to the water's edge. Then, amid the roar of cannon and all the tumult of the excited port, he and his daring crew escaped in safety.

The African fleet dared not attack ours, and the American guns could make little impression on the enemy's forts. So affairs seemed rather at a deadlock, until the Americans joined with the pretender to the Tripolitan throne and began a land expedition. Then the Pasha yielded and made a treaty of peace by which the ancient tribute was ended forever (1805). This happened early in Jefferson's second term, but, despite the demonstration of the value of our ships, the President's ideas of economy in government made him reduce the little navy until it practically ceased to exist.

Meanwhile, France and England had renewed their contemptuous treatment of our trading vessels. The immense British navy could scarce keep supplied with seamen. So its captains began to seize and "impress" men wherever they could, even taking them from the decks of American merchant ships. They always excused this robbery by asserting that the men were English deserters; and to discover such deserters, they claimed the "Right of Search" in any ship whatever.

American resentment grew more and more bitter against this insolence, and in 1807 the land burst into flame over the "Chesapeake" incident. This occurred off Chesapeake Bay. Some sailors impressed into an English ship, escaped on the American coast, fleeing to shore amid a storm of bullets. Three of the deserters at least were Americans, and to preserve them from being retaken and hanged by the merciless Britons, they were admitted to the "Chesapeake," an American man-of-war. Their hiding-place became known, and a general order was given several British frigates to watch for the "Chesapeake," to insist on searching her, and to recapture the deserters.

In pursuance of these orders, the frigate "Leopard" approached the "Chesapeake" on the ocean and demanded the men. Captain Barron of the



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THE "UNITED STATES" CAPTURING THE "MACEDONIAN"

MUTUAL LIFE
OF NEW YORK
AND
LONDON

American ship refused to permit a search, whereon the "Leopard" began firing broadsides into the unprepared "Chesapeake." Several men were killed and wounded; Captain Barron himself was severely hurt, and, being utterly unready for defence, he struck his flag and acknowledged his vessel to be the "Leopard's" prize. The English captain could not very well accept the surrender, as the two countries were not at war; but he exercised the "Right of Search," took four "deserters" from the American vessel, and sailed away. Three of these men were afterward proved to be American citizens; the other was hanged.

This insult was too much for even the pacific Jefferson. The country, as he himself said, had not been so roused since the fight at Lexington. He ordered all British vessels to leave America, and made such unmistakable preparations for war that England concluded to apologize, and the three surviving sailors were restored to the deck of the "Chesapeake." Captain Barron was dismissed from our navy, for having allowed himself to be caught unprepared and so disgracefully overcome.

The injury in the "Chesapeake" affair was mainly one of sentiment; financially, the seizure of our merchant ships and goods upon various pretexts was far more serious, though our Government still sought to avoid the necessity of war. Instead, Congress passed laws prohibiting intercourse with either France or England, the most important of these being the "Embargo Act," which forbade our own ships to leave port at all for foreign trade. It was hoped that this would have a similar effect as the non-importation agreements of the Revolution, but, on the contrary, it enabled England to recover some of her own lost trade; and Napoleon sarcastically remarked that he would help our Government enforce the act—that any American ships found in French ports must have disobeyed it; and he seized them all.

Jefferson's administration was largely in the hands of Southerners. The Southern States were not trading, but agricultural communities, and they scarce realized that the shipping interests were the very life-blood of New England. The working of the Embargo act almost ruined the Northeast. Its commerce fell off to practically nothing; empty ships rotted at the wharves. Foreign exactions had not done New Englanders one fraction the harm their own Government inflicted. Any trade, the victims declared, was better than none at all.

It became impossible to enforce the obnoxious law. President Jefferson, who had been mainly responsible for it, was bitterly assailed. He tells us that he had to choose between its repeal and civil war. Almost his last act as President was to discontinue the Embargo, and as his second term closed he retired from political life as eagerly as Washington had done. "Never did a

prisoner released from his chains," said Jefferson, "feel such relief as I shall, on shaking off the shackles of power."

His ablest lieutenant and Secretary of State, James Madison, also of Virginia, was elected to succeed him, though in New England the extreme Federalist party revived under stress of the Embargo, and made some resistance to Southern dominance.

In a way, however, the Embargo Act had been of benefit to New England. It had forced her versatile people to turn their attention to manufacturing the articles which could no longer be secured from England. The Yankees soon supplied the entire country with clothes and tools of every description. The vast manufacturing interests of our land, barely existent before, were developed at this period to the leading position they have ever since occupied among us.

Meanwhile, a new and very dangerous foe had arisen in the West. This was Tecumseh, most famous of Indian chiefs. He declared with truth that the whites were steadily driving his people from their homes, that the Indians seldom understood the treaties by which they sold their land, and that even though they did, the few who signed the papers and received the presents, could not sell what belonged to the entire race. He took up a particular case, and demanded the abandonment of one such treaty just made by General Harrison, commander of the American forces in the Northwest.

This demand being refused, Tecumseh planned a general league and uprising of all the tribes of the Mississippi valley. He was a remarkable orator and organizer. His speeches roused his race to fury, and his schemes seemed approaching a terrible success.

The neighboring red men became so defiant that General Harrison suspected mischief and marched a strong force to the Tippecanoe River, where stood the chief Indian settlement of the Northwest. Tecumseh himself was away in the South, completing the details of his plans; but his twin brother, "The Prophet," also a chieftain of importance, proposed a friendly conference with the white men. Having thus, as he thought, disarmed suspicion, he gathered all his braves and attacked General Harrison's little army in the night.

Fortunately, Harrison had suspected this very stratagem. His men were ready, and, extinguishing their camp fires, they gave the Indians shot for shot in the darkness. Then with the first glimmering of morning they charged the savages and scattered them with heavy loss. The Indian settlement was burned and the great league broken before it could be formed (1811). Tecumseh, returning in furious haste from the South, almost slew his brother in his rage at the precipitate attack that had ruined his plans. Then the great leader fled to Canada, whence he later worked us even greater harm.

England was accused of fomenting this Indian outbreak. She, and France



THE DEATH OF LAWRENCE — "DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP"



The United States—Second War of Independence 1603

as well, continued to insult, befool, and rob us on the seas. A war party sprang up in Congress and waxed ever stronger. At its head was young Henry Clay, one of the greatest of our statesmen. He and his followers deeply resented the scornful way in which all Europe treated us. They declared that President Madison could not be "kicked into a fight." Yet the very trait thus held up to ridicule, the solemn unwillingness with which almost every one of our Presidents has drawn back from war, is felt now as the highest evidence of their strength and of America's civilization. Our mission is not that of squabblers nor of murderers, but that of leaders in the paths of peace.

If ever a nation was hounded into war by its enemy, ours was into that of 1812. In 1811 a little British sloop-of-war dared to fire into our frigate, the "President." The shot seems to have been delivered in pure insolence. The "President" responded with a broadside which badly battered the smaller vessel and slew many of her crew. Both Governments upheld the action of their fiery captains. War came ever nearer, and at last Madison yielded to importunity and formally proclaimed the contest, June 18, 1812. We had gained our independence on land, said the war party, we must now gain it on the seas, and they called this the "Second War of Independence."

New England, the region mainly aggrieved by Britain's "Right of Search" and restrictions on commerce, was flatly opposed to the contest. Her merchants had not forgotten the disastrous effects of the Embargo. War, they knew, would again banish their commerce from the ocean. England had over a thousand war vessels in all; we had not one to rank with her huge "line of battle" ships. Of the second grade, or "frigates," we had six, and perhaps a dozen smaller boats.

The plan of the war party was to take advantage of England's being engaged in the tremendous struggle with Napoleon, to leave the ocean to her if need be, and to conquer Canada. This last was apparently regarded as an easy matter, but Canada had found a great trading advantage in being protected by England's navy, and a large portion of the Canadians were the tories who had been driven from our States. These had no desire to welcome us. Moreover, our former foe, Tecumseh, came eagerly forward. He was made a general in the British army, and drew all the Indians of the Northwest into alliance with our enemy.

There is no other period of our history to which we must look back with so little of satisfaction or pride, as the early days of this war of 1812. Long as the danger had threatened, Congress had made very little provision for it. Personal suffering and sorrow had not brought the contest close to the people's hearts as in 1776, and every one was willing that some one else should do the fighting. Troops could scarce be collected. Our officers, devoid of military ex-

perience, had risen from various walks of civil life. Not only were they unpractised, many of them proved totally unfit for war.

General Hull commanded the department of Michigan, with headquarters at Detroit. He made a feeble forward movement into Canada, stopped, drew back, and took shelter behind his fortifications. The British troops opposed to him were fewer in number than his own; but the vigorous and competent English leader, General Brock, took advantage of Hull's timidity, besieged the retreating Americans in Detroit, joined forces with Tecumseh's Indians, and threatened to let massacre loose upon the whole Northwest. Despite the furious protest of his subordinate officers, Hull capitulated and delivered not only his immediate followers, but all the American forces throughout the region to the British general.

Brock then moved to the Niagara River to resist another and equally unsuccessful attempt at invasion. A small body of Americans crossed the Niagara into Canada at Queenstown, and stormed the heights in a brilliant dash. Brock tried to recapture the position with reinforcements, but was driven back and mortally wounded. Less than a thousand Americans in all had crossed the river, and their comrades, through sectional jealousy or fear, refused to follow them. The gallant little band on the heights, headed now by Colonel Winfield Scott, were assaulted again and again by outnumbering forces of the British and Indians, until at last the dwindling remnant were either captured or fairly pushed over the cliff behind them into the Niagara gorge. The conquest of Canada was indefinitely postponed.

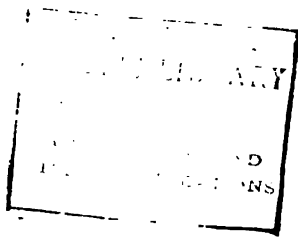
Congress's high hopes of cheap military glory having been thus unexpectedly dampened, our people found what consolation they could in the equally unexpected triumphs of our little navy. Its condition was just the opposite of that of the army. In the war with the Barbary States, Commodore Preble had trained up a set of officers, skilful, vigorous, alert, and inspired with the highest spirit of patriotism and devotion to the service. Decatur was but the type of dozens as daring as he.

Captain Hull began operations with the celebrated frigate "Constitution," by a remarkable escape from a British fleet. Then (August 19, 1812) he fell in with the "Guerriere," an English frigate slightly weaker than his own, and compelled her to surrender after a short and spirited action, which left the "Guerriere" a wreck. This was the first English frigate which had yielded to another within the memory of men, and the incident caused as profound an impression in Europe as in America. English ships, it seemed, were not invincible.

Two other similar combats followed. Decatur in the "United States" met the British frigate "Macedonian" and captured her, after killing or wounding



PERRY AT THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE



over a hundred of her crew. The "United States" lost but eleven men. In December the "Constitution," now under command of Captain Bainbridge, secured her second victim; and this time at least there was no inequality of force. The "Java" was one of the most powerful frigates of the British navy, and had on board wellnigh five hundred men; but she surrendered to Bainbridge after an hour's fighting, so battered that the conqueror blew up the enemy's abandoned hulk. The twice victorious "Constitution" received from America the affectionate nickname of "Old Ironsides."

Two of our smaller war vessels also gained decisive victories over equally matched British opponents, and by the spring of 1813 nearly five hundred British merchantmen had been captured by our privateers. England was in an uproar, as little satisfied with the war's results as we.

In June of 1813 we met our first reverse upon the seas. The unfortunate "Chesapeake" was being fitted out in Boston harbor, and her command was given to Captain Lawrence, who had already won a victory in his sloop "Hornet." The British frigate "Shannon" appeared off Boston and challenged Lawrence to a battle. His crew were untrained, his ship only half ready, but with the glory of the navy in his heart, he sailed out to the combat. In fifteen minutes it was over. The "Chesapeake" became unmanageable and drifted helplessly against the enemy. Half her men were killed or wounded, and Lawrence, mortally wounded, was carried from the deck, crying: "Don't give up the ship." The British sailors, swarming on board, beat down all opposition that remained.

Meanwhile, military affairs were going a little better along the Canadian frontier. There was much fighting around Lake Ontario in 1813, though no very important battles. Gradually the incompetent officers were weeded out, and such men as Colonel Scott came to the front and secured command. Scott instituted a drill camp, where he turned his raw militia into veterans, who were to make a very different showing in another year.

Along Lake Erie and the further West, we were triumphantly successful. Commodore Oliver H. Perry won his famous victory. He was in command of our little naval force upon the lake, consisting of two brigs and several smaller vessels. The British fleet was about equal to his own, and after much skilful manœuvering the two met in decisive battle near the western end of the lake (September 14, 1813). Perry hoisted as his fighting signal the already widely known exclamation of the dying Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship," and it has ever since been the motto of the American navy.

Perry's flagship headed the attack at close quarters and was soon a helpless wreck. In the midst of battle and death, with bullets flying all around him, the commander had himself and his flag carried by a rowboat to his only other

brig. With this he plunged again into the midst of the battered and exhausted British fleet. His victory was complete. Not one of the enemy's vessels escaped. Perry's brief report of the engagement has taken a place in history: "We have met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

The battle of Lake Erie had an important effect upon the war. General Harrison had replaced the surrendered General Hull in command of the Americans in the West. The death of the gallant General Brock had placed the incompetent General Proctor in control of the English.

Each leader intended to invade the other's territory, and each counted on the Lake Erie fleet to transport his troops across the lake. Hence after Perry's fight it was Harrison who invaded Canada. He met the British and their Indian allies on the Thames River. The British regulars fought splendidly, and the Indians under Tecumseh displayed a steady and desperate valor never elsewhere equalled by their race. But Tecumseh was slain, Proctor fled, and then the American victory was overwhelming. All the territory that Hull had surrendered, and all western Canada as well, passed into Harrison's hands. The Indian confederacy was destroyed.

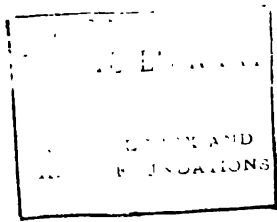
During 1812 and 1813 Great Britain had conducted the American war as languidly as possible, keeping on the defensive, while she reserved her main strength for her Titanic grapple with Napoleon. In 1814 Bonaparte's downfall had been accomplished, and England turned her serious attention to the American contest. Our men-of-war and privateers had captured over a thousand of her merchant ships and practically destroyed her commerce. The British Government was now determined to exterminate our little navy at any cost, and did not hesitate to override all national law.

One of our frigates, the "Essex," was repairing at Valparaiso in South America. Ships are supposed never to fight in a neutral harbor, but two British vessels attacked the "Essex" in her helpless condition and destroyed her after a bloody resistance. Commodore Decatur, in the "President," was captured by a British fleet. Our frigates were blockaded in various harbors by whole squadrons of the enemy. Only the famous "Constitution" managed to keep upon the seas.

She was under the command of Captain Stewart when she met two English ships, the "Cyane" and the "Levant," off the Portuguese coast, in February, 1815. The "Constitution" was somewhat stronger than either of her foes, but together they expected to make short work of her. By the most consummate seamanship, Stewart kept them apart, and fought and captured both. When the British captains met in his cabin, each began blaming the other for the mistakes which had lost the battle. "Gentlemen," interposed Stewart, "no



THE BATTLE OF THE THAMES — TECUMSEH'S DEATH



matter what you might have done, I would have had you both; and if you doubt it, I will put you back on your ships and we will try again."

Our smaller vessels, too, and even our privateers, sustained the high reputation we had won. Celebrated among these lesser contests was that of the privateer "General Armstrong" under Captain Reid. She was found in the Portuguese harbor of Fayal by a British squadron and attacked there, in open violation of all neutrality laws. The "General Armstrong" had but ninety men and only seven cannon, of which just one was big enough to be of effective service. The English fleet had 2,000 men and 140 guns, but the shallow water allowed only one of their ships to come within close range of the Americans. This one was so battered by Captain Reid's big gun, the "long Tom," that she withdrew. The Americans repulsed two desperate boat attacks made by the entire fleet, hundreds of the British being slain. The Portuguese authorities notified the English commander to stop fighting in their harbor, but the Briton swore he would have that privateer if he destroyed all Fayal. The entire fleet drew as close to the "General Armstrong" as they could, and, finding his one gun useless against their seven score, Captain Reid scuttled his ship, and withdrawing his men to a stone fort on shore, dared the whole British force to come and capture him. They did not make the attempt. In fact, they had lost so many men that they put back to England to refit. They had been on their way to aid in capturing New Orleans, and the delay brought them there just too late, giving our troops time to prepare its defence. The gallant fight of Captain Reid has often been sung in American verse.

The English military operations for 1814 were also planned on a most extensive scale. Three armies of veterans, released from the Napoleonic wars, were to invade the United States from three different points. The smallest of the expeditions was sent to Chesapeake Bay. British ships had been ravaging the helpless Virginia coast for some time, much as they had done during the Revolution. This fleet was now strengthened and troops were sent out to enable it to extend its ravages inland. The available force for the land operations did not exceed five thousand men, and our government officials did not think it possible that the capital itself would be attacked. They delayed summoning even the militia until it was too late. The English general, Ross, realizing our unprepared weakness, marched suddenly upon Washington.

Some six or eight thousand hastily gathered militia opposed his path at Bladensburg on the Potomac; but the battle of Bladensburg, as it was called, was little more than a farce. The general in command was as inexperienced as the men. President Madison and several high officials of government were on the field, and they interfered and issued contradictory commands. The troops became hopelessly confused, and at the advance of the enemy took to

flight in a body, their general, the President, and the rest of the government following their example. It is the most disgraceful scene in our history, and it is well that we should not blink its shame, lest the warning be lost upon us and some unfortunate occasion repeat the performance.

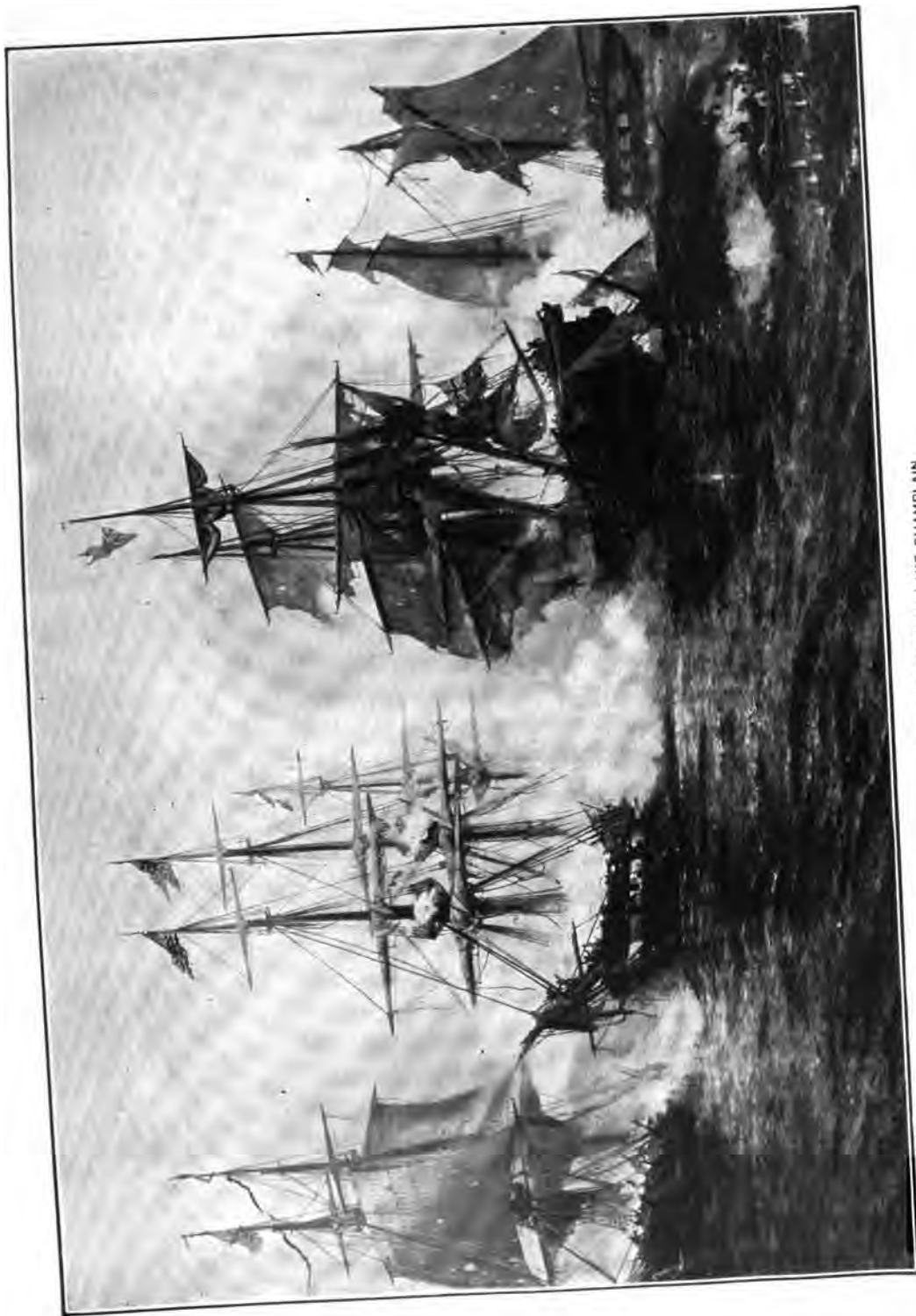
Only a body of five hundred seamen under Commodore Barney remained upon the field, handling their artillery with deadly effect, until the British regulars began to outflank and surround them. Then the majority escaped capture by flight. General Ross entered Washington without further opposition (August 24, 1814), and burned the Capitol and most of the public buildings, inflicting irreparable loss by the destruction of many of our records.

This capture of Washington was little more than a daring raid. Ross knew too well the danger of remaining with his small force in the heart of the aroused country; and having done his work, he retreated hastily to the protection of his fleet. In September he attempted a similar descent on Baltimore, but was resolutely repulsed by the militia, fighting from behind intrenchments. General Ross himself was slain by a sharpshooter.

The second British invasion was designed for our northern frontier. Before it was ready, an army of about four thousand Americans, mostly those whom Colonel Scott had trained, started to invade Canada from the neighborhood of Niagara. Their leader, General Brown, attacked and defeated the British in the battle of Chippewa. Unable to advance for lack of supplies, he hovered around Niagara for some weeks. The enemy were heavily reinforced and assailed his little army at Lundy's Lane, close within sound of the roar of the great Falls.

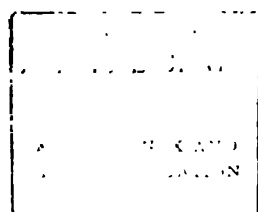
Lundy's Lane (July 25, 1814) was the most even and resolutely contested battle of the war. The forces and the losses were about equal on both sides, nearly two thousand men in all being killed or wounded. The honor of our American soldiers was restored. Scott's troops under his gallant leadership proved themselves quite as resolute as the British veterans, and the British taunt that our men never stood against a bayonet charge was gloriously refuted. Far into the night the attacks and counter-attacks continued, but the Americans captured and held the enemy's cannon, and at last the exhausted Britons abandoned the field. General Brown and General Scott were both badly wounded, and the Americans, as battered as their foes, withdrew to Fort Erie. The English were again reinforced and besieged the fort; but when General Brown recovered from his hurts, he resumed command, conducted the defence with great skill, and in September made a sortie in which the British suffered so heavily that they abandoned the siege.

The long-planned English invasion from Canada seemed more likely to be successful at some less vigorously defended point. Fourteen thousand troops



MACDONOUGH'S VICTORY ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN

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advanced down Lake Champlain in September, taking the route which Burgoyne had once found so disastrous. The militia from New York and Vermont gathered to oppose them, and with the help of a small force of regular troops, barred the way at Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, repelling repeated assaults. There was an American fleet on the lake under Commodore Macdonough; and an English fleet, somewhat stronger and headed by a frigate, was sent to assist the invasion by destroying Macdonough's force. He awaited the assault in Plattsburg Bay (September 11).

It was a still autumn day, the water was like glass, and the ships were able to discharge their batteries with deadly accuracy. After a heroic and sanguinary battle of two hours, every one of the British ships sank or surrendered. The amazed and despondent English army retreated into Canada, and the great invasion came to nothing.

Third and most powerful of the contemplated invasions of 1814 was that against New Orleans. This was headed by General Pakenham, one of England's most noted leaders, and he had over ten thousand of the finest troops of the empire. The opposition which could be gathered against him, seemed even weaker than that which had checked the Lake Champlain invasion; but at the head of the Southerners was one of the ablest and most resolute of men, General Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee.

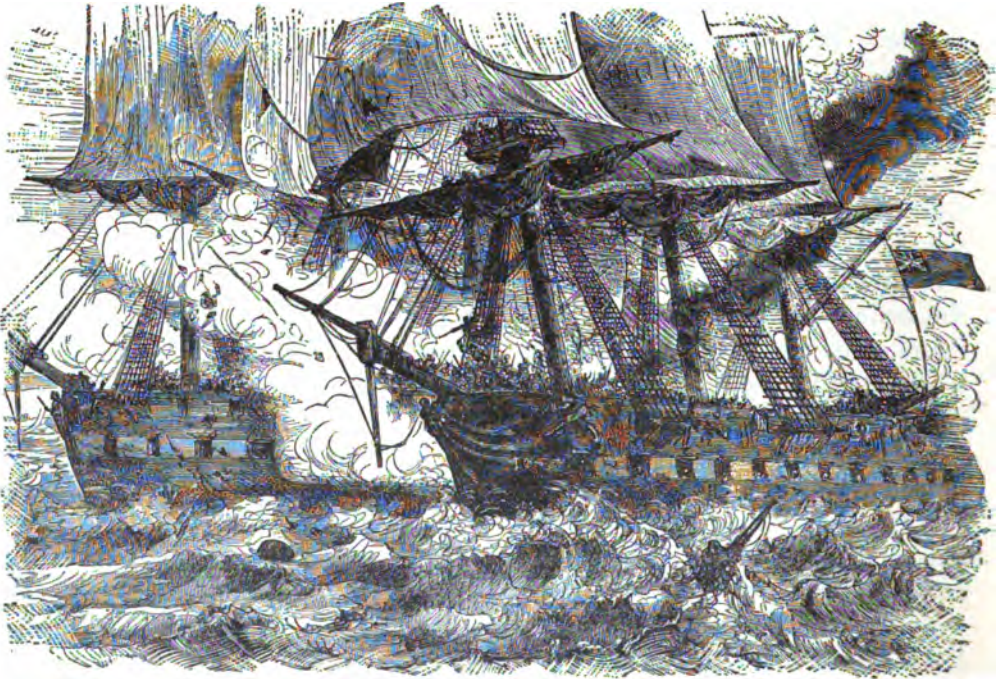
Jackson had been conducting a campaign against the Creek Indians of Georgia and Alabama. Enraged by their cruelties, he gave no quarter, and the war against them was one of extermination, the final battle being fought at the "Horseshoe Bend" of the Tallapoosa River. It lasted five hours and ended in the death of over six hundred red men, probably half the fighting strength remaining to their exhausted nation. From the Tallapoosa, Jackson invaded Florida, where the Spaniards were helping England. Then he hastened to the defence of New Orleans.

He had only some seven thousand militia, but many of them were the hardy pioneers of Kentucky and Tennessee, men who could both fight and shoot. He entrenched them behind cotton bales, and Pakenham's veterans were repulsed with terrible loss (January 8, 1815). Again and again the British rushed to the attack, but no troops could stand against the deadly fire of the frontiersmen. Pakenham fell with over two thousand of his men. The American loss was only sixty-two.

The battle of New Orleans, which is still celebrated as a glorious festival in some of our States, occurred after a peace had been declared. Both nations were dissatisfied with the war, England finding it as difficult to conquer us, as we had found it to master Canada. The merchants on both sides lamented the ruin of their ocean trade, in which ships of other nations were rapidly sup-

planting them. Besides, the causes of quarrel had disappeared. The European peace had removed the necessity for interfering with our traders. England was reducing her tremendously expensive navy and had no need of further sailors. Thus the hated "Right of Search" was never again exercised, though England refused to yield it formally. There really remained no reason for war, except the mere fact that it existed, and so, on December 24, 1814, a treaty was signed at Ghent, which said very little about our grievances, and was no more than a mere agreement to stop fighting.

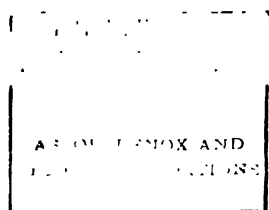
The general feeling in America was one of joyous relief. We had endured enough of suffering and privation, and had no desire to have England further devastate our coasts. The war had taught us modesty; and, at the same time, the truly wonderful showing of our tiny navy and the gallant later efforts of our land forces had proved the calibre of our people, and raised us much higher in the general estimation and respect of Europe.



THE "CHESAPEAKE" AND THE "SHANNON"



JACKSON REPELLING THE BRITISH ADVANCE AT NEW ORLEANS



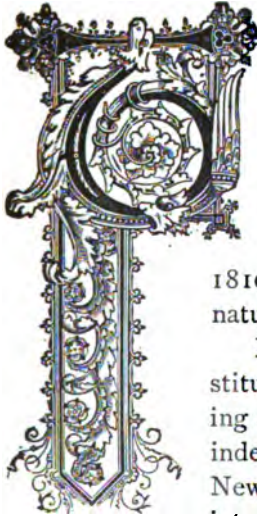


LAUNCHING THE "CLERMONT" (*From a Print of the time*)

Chapter XVI

THE GROWTH OF THE COUNTRY

[*Authorities* : Burgess, "The Middle Period" ; Wise, "Seven Decades of the Union" ; Tucker, "The Monroe Doctrine" ; Ormsby, "History of the Whig Party" ; Memoirs of John Quincy Adams ; Schurz, "Henry Clay" ; Sumner, "Andrew Jackson" ; Shepard, "Martin Van Buren" ; President Van Buren, "Origin of Political Parties" ; Benton, "Thirty Years' View" ; Dickens, "American Notes."]



THE powerful, united, and acknowledged nation of 1815 was very different from the thirteen colonies which had fought for a bare existence in 1775. Our country had already entered upon that wonderful career of expansion which has been the amazement of modern times. Its people, who probably numbered less than three million in 1770, counted over eight million in 1810; and the growth came not from immigration, but from natural increase.

Even before the thirteen States agreed to their final Constitution, other communities were knocking at the door, seeking admission to the federation. Vermont had really been an independent principality during the entire Revolution; but New York claimed her territory and prevented her reception into the Union, until all the States yielded their conflicting land claims. Then Vermont became the fourteenth State in 1791.

Kentucky was settled by hardy Virginia pioneers, like Daniel Boone. These resolute dwellers of the "Dark and Bloody Ground," as Kentucky was named, found themselves alone in the Mississippi valley, an outpost amid tribes of savage Indians. They were separated from Virginia, and indeed from all other Americans, by the wilds of the Appalachian Mountains. Their interests

were not akin to those of the parent State which claimed their land, and they demanded separate recognition. Some malcontents even threatened to unite with England or Spain. Thus as early as 1784 there was some thought of admitting Kentucky into the Confederation that then existed, and Congress welcomed the new State as soon as Virginia could be brought to assent (1792). A similar diversity of interest had broken Tennessee from North Carolina, and the daughter State was admitted in 1796.

These three additional members of the Union were thus formed from outlying portions of the original thirteen colonies. But now a new and more important development appeared. During the Revolution an expedition had been despatched from Virginia to end the forays of the Indians from the Ohio valley. The leader, George R. Clark, did this in a most daring manner by capturing the English forts in the region, the chief of which were at Kaskaskia, an old French settlement of Illinois, and at Vincennes in Indiana.

Clark's little force contained scarce two hundred men, but in the peace treaty with England in 1783 the shrewd Benjamin Franklin made Clark's possession of the territory a ground for including it within our borders. Of the region thus acquired, Congress granted large tracts to its disbanded soldiers, and settlers began flocking thither. Ohio's first town was Marietta, founded in 1788; but so heavy was the westward flow of immigration that only fifteen years later Ohio demanded and received admission as our seventeenth State. In the same year President Jefferson purchased the vast region beyond the Mississippi, and men for the first time saw the possibility that at some distant date the new States would outnumber the old.

How very soon this would be accomplished, no man yet dreamed. The steamboat and the railroad were unknown, and travellers scaled the weary mountains and pierced the endless wilderness on foot or floated down the mighty rivers upon rafts. In 1807 the steamboat "Clermont" appeared on the Hudson River. Other men had before contrived boats propelled by steam, but these had proved useless toys. Robert Fulton, the builder of the "Clermont," made the steamboat practical. In so doing he gave an immeasurable stimulus to the progress and prosperity of America. The true means of navigating the great Western rivers had been found.

The increasing influence of the new districts upon the country at large soon became manifest. The older States had existed before the Union, and in moments of anger they were quick enough to talk of destroying it. In the West, patriotism took a wider range. The new States were the creations of the nation, made from its territory, existent by its will. Moreover, their people were mostly natives of the East. Once, if not oftener, they had moved from State to State. Hence it was not possible for them to develop the same passionate



THE INDIANS ON THE GREAT WESTERN PLAINS

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attachment to a single locality, which distinguished the more stable East. They were less Ohioans or Kentuckians than they were Americans. Their first loyalty was to the Union.

The war of 1812 was largely the work of this high-spirited and patriotic West. It has been called Henry Clay's war, and Clay was a Kentuckian. Cautious New England had protested against strife, the Virginian President Madison had to be forced to it; only the West plunged into the maelstrom with hot-headed ardor and ignorance of what war meant. General Jackson was a Tennessee citizen, born in Carolina but emigrating westward; and the final triumph at New Orleans was achieved by the frontier pioneers.

After 1812 the growth of the country was even more rapid. President Madison, at the close of his second term of office (1813-1817), was succeeded by his Secretary of State, James Monroe (1817-1825), almost without opposition. Monroe was also a Virginian, and envious politicians began to speak rather bitterly of the "Virginia dynasty," but it had become an established tradition that a President's Secretary of State was the natural "heir" to his policies and his office.

An "Era of Good Feeling" brought all sections of the Union nearer together. Monroe, a courtly and kindly man, made a tour of the country, an elaborate undertaking indeed in those stagecoach days, and he was received everywhere with enthusiastic affection. Our government seemed almost ideal, and at Monroe's second election there was no opposing candidate whatever. He failed of a unanimous election only because a single member of the electoral college deliberately cast a vote against him, so that the honor of an absolutely undisputed choice should remain to Washington alone, as a unique distinction.

During Monroe's presidency, the two leading Western men, Jackson and Clay, both kept themselves prominently before the nation. Jackson was military commander in the South. He fought the Indians of Georgia and Alabama, and when they fled into Florida, which was Spanish territory, he pursued them thither. This was a violation of international law, and Spain protested. But the rough and vigorous frontiersman was not to be bound by cobwebs. Instead of retreating, he seized the Spanish town of Pensacola, lest the Indians should take shelter there. He also captured and promptly executed two English subjects who were accused of instigating the Indian uprisings.

President Monroe hastened to disavow these acts of his hot-headed general, fearing they might involve us in war with both England and Spain; but at heart the President seems to have felt, as did most Americans, a thorough satisfaction with Jackson's energetic course. Negotiations for the sale of Florida had already begun with Spain. During three centuries she had sought and failed to colonize its wilderness. St. Augustine and Pensacola were the

only towns within the unknown borders. Moreover, Spain was facing civil war at home, and rebellion in many of her American colonies. After some demur, she consented in 1819 to sell Florida for \$5,000,000.

Henry Clay, meanwhile, stood out in Congress as the real leader of the nation. All men in politics were now followers of Jefferson, members of the widespread Democratic-Republican party; but within that body itself, differences of opinion were beginning to appear. Clay, the Westerner, was naturally the champion of a strong central government, and gradually his followers became known as the American, or National, Republicans. A few years later they were called Whigs, and from them a later generation developed the Republican party of to-day.

Clay introduced the "Protective Tariff"—that is, the policy of making all foreign goods pay a heavy tax on entering the country, the purpose being to protect the American merchants and manufacturers from foreign competition. A second of Clay's policies was that of having the government build great roads, leading to the West, and thus help the development of that section. Both of these measures were Federalist in tone, that is, they gave power and influence to the central government at the expense of the States; but the nation had begun to feel itself a nation, and gladly followed in Clay's lead. In another direction, however, the great statesman met with sudden, unexpected, and most startling opposition.

In 1818 Missouri applied for admission as a State. Except for Louisiana, there was as yet no State west of the Mississippi. Louisiana had always held slaves; Missouri desired to legalize slavery within her borders also. The news came as a thunderclap of warning to the nation. The awful curse of slavery, which Washington and Jefferson had thought would die, was growing and spreading like a plague spot, poisoning the land. Sudden, fierce, deadly debate flashed out in Congress. The North arrayed itself against the South. Jefferson spoke from the honored retirement of his age to declare that the tumult terrified him "like a fire bell in the night"; he feared it as "the knell of the Union."

Clay, being a Southerner, was on Missouri's side; but John Quincy Adams, son of President Adams, stood forth in Congress as the first champion of the anti-slavery cause. The new State was denied admission. The dispute flared higher still; threats of disunion once more darkened the nation's sky. Clay and his "American" followers grew alarmed, and, gathering recruits from both sides, the great statesman forced through Congress the celebrated "Missouri Compromise" (1820). This admitted Missouri as a slave State, but for the future prohibited slavery west of the Mississippi to the north of the parallel 36° 30', Missouri's southern boundary.



THE PRESIDENTS OF THE MIDDLE PERIOD

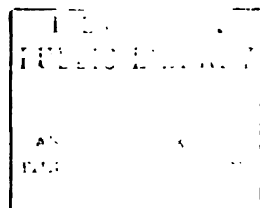
Tyler

Van Buren

Jackson

J. Q. Adams

Harrison



Adams, who was Monroe's Secretary of State, accepted the compromise "from extreme unwillingness to put the Union to hazard." President Monroe signed the bill, and the threatening spectre was laid for twenty years. Men thought it dead, but we know now that it was only gaining strength wherewith to work more awful desolation.

The last important event of Monroe's administration was his enunciation in 1823 of the Monroe Doctrine, which declared that America was for Americans, and that Europeans could no longer plant colonies and assert new claims to land anywhere upon the Western Continent. The doctrine really came first from John Quincy Adams as a warning to Russia, which was attempting to extend its dominion southward from Alaska. But Monroe then took the matter from his Secretary's hands, and in a message to Congress espoused the principle and proclaimed it to the world.

The retirement of President Monroe left the field very open to new candidates for the office. Adams, as Secretary of State, was the recognized heir. But he was a stiff, cold man, not personally popular; his anti-slavery attitude had alienated many Southerners; and the general public regarded Clay as the real mouthpiece of his party and leader of the nation. Both men were placed in nomination by their adherents. General Jackson was also urged to enter the field, shrewd politicians recognizing the value of his popularity, and announcing him as the candidate of the common people, the democracy, against the increasing federalist tendencies of Adams and Clay. There was also a fourth candidate, and the newspapers spoke jestingly of the open contest as the "scrub-race" for the presidency.

The election failed to give any one of the four a clear majority in the electoral college, and thus the decision passed into the hands of Congress. Jackson had received the heaviest vote, but his views were radically opposed to those of both Clay and Adams, while between the latter there was really little divergence of opinion. So the congressional supporters of these two united in electing Adams, President; and he made Clay, Secretary of State. Jackson and many of his friends felt that, having the largest vote, their candidate had the best claim upon the office, and they declared that he had been defeated by a "corrupt bargain."

President John Quincy Adams (1825-1829) and his energetic Secretary continued the policy of government improvement, already begun. The great roads were carried farther into the West, harbors were improved, and canals built between East and West. Most important of these was the Erie canal, which was completed in 1825 and connected the Great Lakes with the Hudson River.

This important enterprise, though helped by the Washington authorities, was

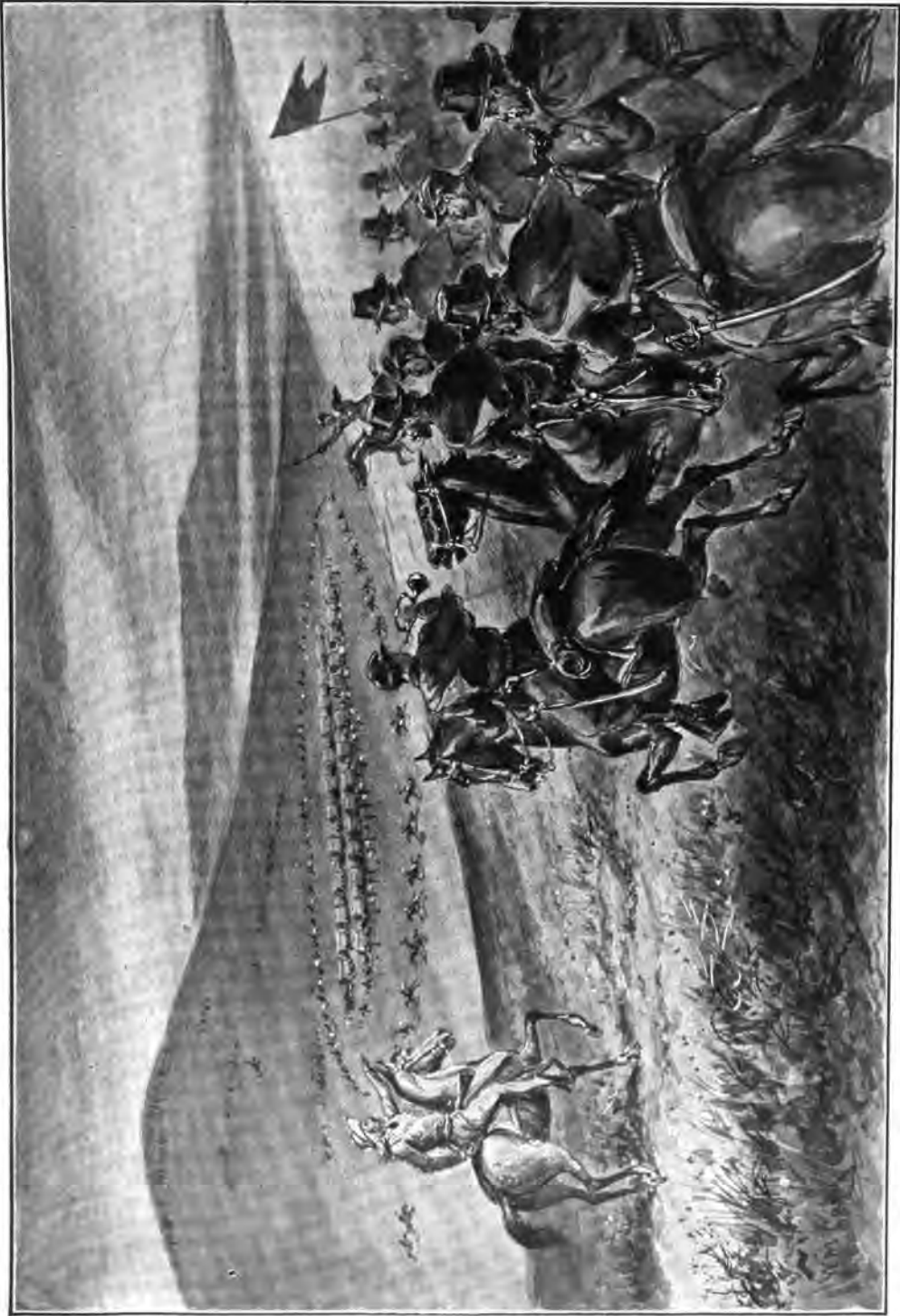
really a State undertaking. New York's Governor, De Witt Clinton, saw the enormous value of the canal to his State, and pushed the work to completion in the face of much ridicule. Railroads had not yet solved the problem of transportation, and "Clinton's big ditch," as his enemies called it, gave to the West an outlet shorter by many hundred miles than the tedious route down the Mississippi and through the Gulf of Mexico. The Erie canal made New York the metropolis of America.

By this time the huge Democratic-Republican party had become hopelessly divided. The followers of Adams and Clay, to whose measures the mighty orator, Daniel Webster, now began to lend the support of his eloquence, took the name of "National" Republicans, while the popular or Jacksonian wing of the party called themselves simply Democrats. They claimed to be the only genuine followers of Jefferson. A clear issue was thus presented to the nation. Adams and Jackson were the only contestants in the next presidential election, and what with Jackson's ever-increasing popularity, and the feeling that he had really deserved the office before, he won by an overwhelming majority.

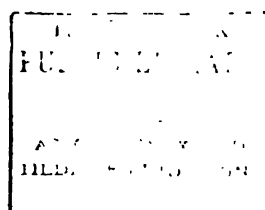
Jackson's presidency (1829-1837) was, like Jefferson's, a revolution, a second and more extreme assertion of popular sovereignty. Jackson was a West-erner, the first President who had not come from either Virginia or Massachusetts, the two leaders among the old colonies. He was the first President who was not a college graduate. He had no training in statesmanship, he was sudden and savage of temper, he saw no further than the immediate moment. Cautious men were as terrified at his success, as the Federalists had once been at Jefferson's. But Jackson was as honest as daylight, strong, shrewd, and resolute, and his presidency was in many ways successful.

We are apt to remember mainly that he introduced the "Spoils System" of turning out all government officials of the opposite party and rewarding his own followers with the positions. The most important event of his first administration, however, was the renewal of the old dispute of "State rights." South Carolina had objected to Clay's increasingly high tariff, and under her able leaders, Calhoun and Hayne, she renewed the threat of withdrawing from the Union. This inspired Webster's celebrated speech, in which he declared the United States to be an eternally indissoluble nation. His words were hailed everywhere with a joyous and intense fervor of patriotism. Nevertheless, South Carolina proceeded to declare the tariff acts "null, void, and no law" within her borders, adding that if attempts were made to force them upon her, she would secede.

Another President than Jackson might have hesitated, but he promptly accepted the challenge, and, while appealing to his fellow-citizens of South



INDIANS ATTACKING AN EMIGRANT TRAIN



Carolina, his "native State," to obey the law peaceably, he sent armed forces thither, with stern orders to fight if necessary. Once more Clay came forward with a compromise, consenting to a slow reduction of the tariff; and the crisis was averted.

In Jackson's second term, he fought the United States Bank of Hamilton's creation, and ultimately destroyed it. But his reckless financial schemes plunged the country into a disastrous business panic, whose full effects became manifest only after his "reign" had ended. Jackson was accused of seeing everything through the political "spectacles" of his friend, Martin Van Buren, an astute New York politician, whom he made his Secretary of State, and whose election as his successor was assured by Jackson's own strength and popularity.

Van Buren's single term (1837-1841) is mainly memorable for the panic which Jackson's measures had precipitated. He was the last President thus to inherit office from his predecessor, for the National or Whig party took guidance from their opponents and sought for a popular soldier rather than a great statesman to head their ticket. They selected William Henry Harrison, another hero of the war of 1812, by this time become an old man, living quietly in the Northwest. They revived the memory of his victory over the Indians at Tippecanoe; they pictured the simple log-cabin in which as a frontiersman Harrison was supposed to dwell; they sang jolly campaign songs, and drank widely of cider, the beverage of the frontier. The whole campaign was like a great national frolic, and with much excitement, laughter, and hurrah, Harrison was whirled into the presidential chair, defeating Van Buren's hopes of a second term.

The triumph, the confusion, and the downright hard work of the campaign and of the great position proved too much for the aged general. The "spoils system" surrounded him with thousands of clamorous office-seekers, to whom he gave his whole time and all too literally his life. He sickened and died within a month after his inauguration.

His election, following upon that of Jackson, changed all the former ideas about the selection of presidential candidates. Instead of tendering the office to their real leaders, parties began to look for men who could be made popular with the masses, men whose very lack of eminence protected them from enemies such as might lessen the vote-winning powers of a Webster or a Clay.



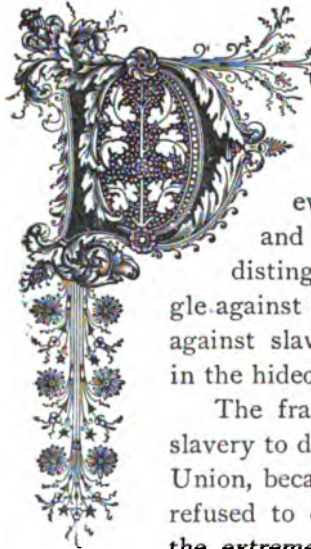


THE CAPTURE OF JOHN BROWN

Chapter XVII

THE SLAVERY SHADOW AND THE MEXICAN WAR

[*Authorities*: W. Wilson, "Division and Reunion"; Horace Greeley, "History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension"; Williams, "Sam Houston"; Ripley, "War with Mexico"; Bancroft, "Pacific States"; Curtis, "Webster"; H. Wilson, "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power"; Goodell, "Slavery and Anti-Slavery"; May, "Ante-Slavery Days"; Cobb, "Historical Sketch of Slavery"; Olmstead, "Cotton Kingdom"; Rhodes, "History of the United States from 1850"; Thayer, "Kansas Crusade"; Curtis, "Buchanan."]



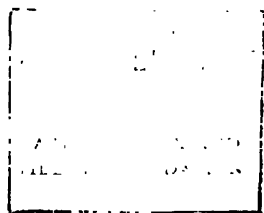
URING the twenty years from 1840 to 1860, slavery became once more the leading question in American history. There had been a time when most men looked upon African slavery as natural and inevitable. The system was once legal in all the colonies, and there had been white slaves as well as black. Virginia distinguished herself in those days by heading the struggle against the evil; but England refused to allow any legislation against slave sales, because her merchants were making fortunes in the hideous traffic.

The framers of the Constitution, as we have seen, expected slavery to die out. They permitted its temporary existence in the Union, because without it Georgia and South Carolina would have refused to enter the government. In the vast rice swamps of the extreme Southern States, whites could not live; negro labor seemed an absolute necessity.

What really perpetuated slavery was Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin in 1793. This machine made the cultivation of cotton a hundredfold more profitable than before. The South soon supplied the world with the material



THE BRITISH FUR TRADERS SECURING THE PEACEFUL SURRENDER OF ASTORIA



for cotton clothes. The new staple supplanted both tobacco and rice as the chief product of the region. "King Cotton" dominated the purses, the hearts, and the consciences of the South and the new monarch could best be served by negro labor.

Southern leaders first modified their tone toward slavery, then declared it a "necessary evil," or even found it "beneficent for the negro." Realizing that the sentiment of the North was increasingly opposed to them, they guarded jealously against attack, and saw to it that for every free State added to the Union a slave State was entered also to preserve the balance. The Missouri dispute of 1820 showed how deep-rooted the evil had become. Clay's compromise even granted it an advance of territory.

But, through God's high wisdom, the system of slavery held within itself the poison that made its ultimate destruction inevitable. Temporary conditions could supply it with only a temporary life. Free labor could not and would not compete with slaves. The poorer whites of the South learned to scorn the honest toil which was made a badge of servitude. They became lazy, shiftless, unprogressive. Thus, while in the North wealth and population and education increased with marvellous rapidity, the South remained inert and almost stationary. She had her few brilliant aristocratic leaders, but she had no great mass of intellectual and energetic people to uphold her power.

The feeling in the North steadily strengthened against man's holding property in man. The rise of a party determined to abolish slavery was delayed only by the realization that the South would never consent, that "abolition" would involve disunion. Men soon rose, however, to assert that justice stood above union. In 1831 William Lloyd Garrison began the publication of his celebrated anti-slavery paper, the "Liberator." "I am in earnest," he declared. "I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; — *and I will be heard.*" He was assailed by a mob, a "highly respectable" one, as we are assured, composed not of Southerners, but of the people of Boston. Later he proclaimed as the motto of his paper, "The United States Constitution is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell." It should be clearly understood, however, that the opposition to Garrison was aroused, not because he favored abolition, but because he assailed the Constitution. Before 1840 there were two hundred thousand members of anti-slavery societies in the North.

So matters stood when President Harrison's sudden death threw the government into confusion. The Whig party, wishing to rally to their standard every possible element of opposition to the Democracy of Van Buren, had given second place upon its ticket to John Tyler, a Southern Democrat out of harmony with the administration. Tyler had undoubtedly fulfilled their expecta-

tion by drawing to them some discontented Democratic votes. But now, by the death of his chief, Tyler was President, a Democrat elected by Whigs, a leader with scarce the shadow of a party behind him.

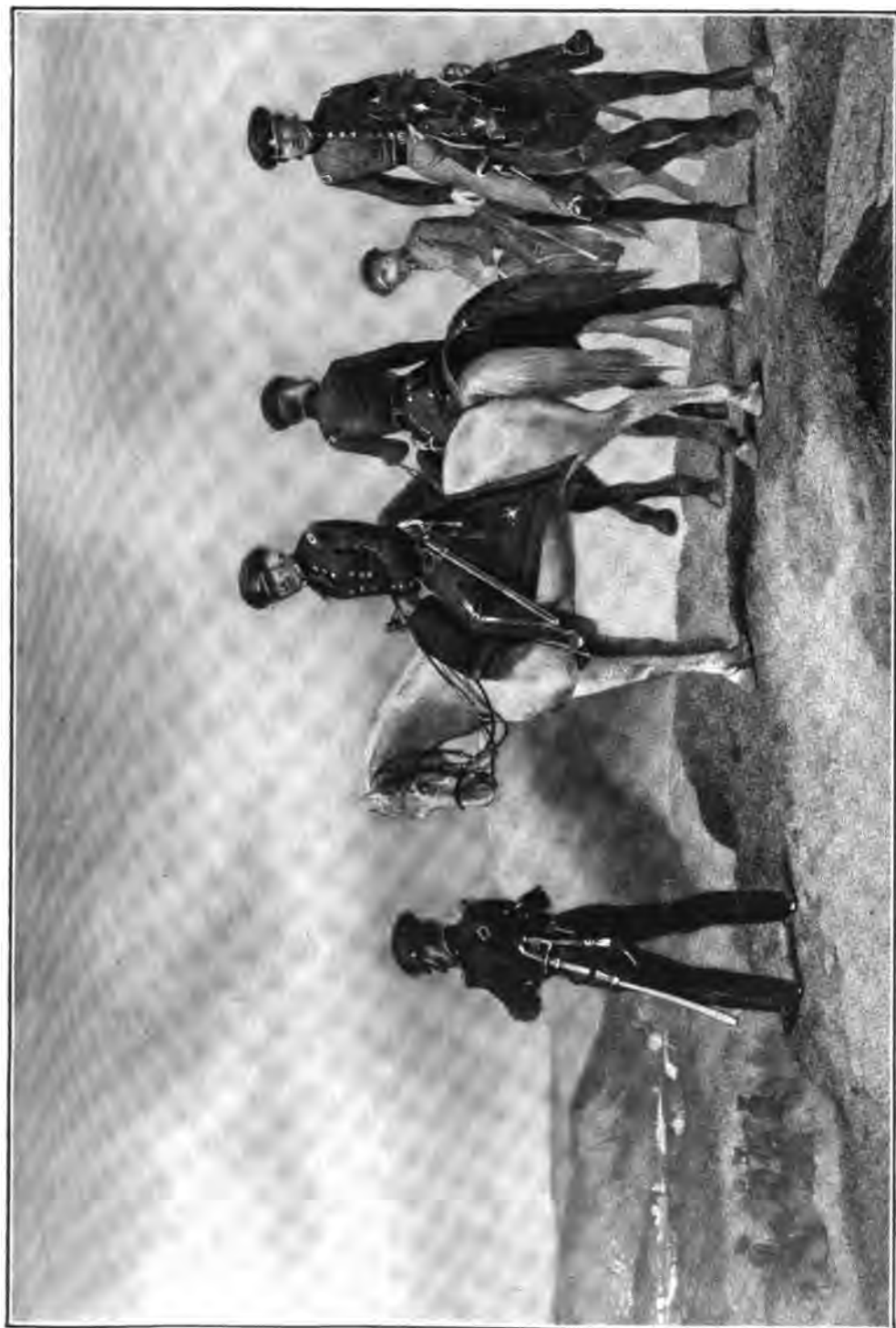
He tried to harmonize opposing views, to strike a compromise between the two extremes, and to become the leader in a new "Era of Good Feeling," such as Jefferson had inaugurated. But the Whigs in Congress would not submit; they insisted on their full policy of high tariff, a new national bank, and other changes. When Tyler vetoed their bills, they declared with solemn bitterness that his election had been a mistake, that he had deceived them, and that no further alliance with him could be possible. For four years the various divisions of our government stood in hopeless antagonism, and legislation was practically at a standstill.

Left thus to himself, President Tyler naturally gravitated toward his ancient friends. As a Southerner, he was a strong believer in States' Rights and slavery. He made Calhoun, who was the chief champion of both these doctrines, his Secretary of State, and they turned their attention to the Republic of Texas. This had been for some years seeking admission to the Union; but Northerners feared to add such an enormous slave territory to the South, and the application of the Texans had been repeatedly refused.

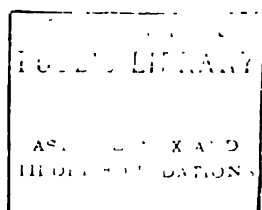
The United States had originally some claim to a part of the Texas territory, but had abandoned this to Spain at the time of the purchase of Florida. The vast, fertile Texan prairies soon, however, drew settlers from Louisiana, and the land was occupied by Americans even in the days of Spanish rule. Then Mexico declared herself independent of Spain, and the Texans declared themselves independent of Mexico, and sought the protection of the United States.

When this was refused, they stood ready to defend themselves. Santa Anna, the Mexican President, attempted to reconquer them in 1836, but was met with the most heroic resistance. At the Alamo, an old mission building in San Antonio, about two hundred Texans were attacked by a force of thousands of Mexicans. The defenders fought until an exhausted and helpless handful surrendered and were slain to the last man. The Texan monument to their memory told the simple story: "Thermopylæ had its messenger of defeat, but the Alamo had none."

Wherever Santa Anna moved, he left murder and desolation behind him. Finally General Sam Houston, the great Texas leader, gathered seven hundred men and attacked the Mexican army of two thousand at San Jacinto. It is said that only seven Mexicans escaped capture or death. Santa Anna was among the prisoners, and to save his life he recognized the independence of Texas. It was a vast region; most of it was still a wilderness, and its southern and western boundaries were not clearly defined.



GENERAL TAYLOR AT THE SIEGE OF MONTEREY



President Tyler and Secretary Calhoun determined to secure the annexation of the new republic. They prepared a secret treaty with its gallant leaders, and only when every detail was arranged did they present the treaty to the United States Senate. That body, influenced partly by resentment at being neglected, partly by Northern sentiment against the extension of slave territory, and partly by Mexican threats of war, rejected the annexation. The Texas question became the main issue of the next presidential campaign.

The Democrats of the South were, of course, passionately in favor of the annexation, and they wisely coupled this with another expansion measure. Oregon, as the entire stretch of the Pacific coast between California and Alaska was then called, was held jointly by England and the United States. Each had some claim to the land. Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State at the beginning of Tyler's administration, had arranged a treaty with England, which settled our vague northern boundary from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains; but further west the Oregon region was still in dispute.

It had been first discovered by Spaniards, then claimed by Sir Francis Drake on his voyage round the world, and then explored by Americans coming from the Mississippi Valley. American fur traders sent out by the New York merchant, Mr. Astor, built a fort at Astoria in 1811. British fur traders also penetrated the region, and during the war of 1812 they demanded and secured the peaceable surrender of Astoria. It was not until 1840 that a flow of American settlers began actually to colonize the remote region. They insisted that it should belong to the United States, and the Democrats of 1844 took up their claim and demanded the whole of Oregon, extending as far north as Alaska, that is, the latitude of 54° 40'. "Fifty-four forty, or fight," was their campaign cry against Great Britain.

They seemed thus to invite war with both England and Mexico; but the desire for territorial expansion has always been strong in our country, and the fact that the Democrats coupled their demand for Oregon with that for Texas, somewhat quieted the Northern objection to the increase of the slave area. The trend in favor of their policy became so evident that the Whigs took alarm. They had for the third time chosen as their standard-bearer their real leader, Henry Clay, and Clay now declared that perhaps Texas might be admitted. It was too late, however, to stay the avalanche; the Democrats were overwhelmingly successful in the election of their candidate, James K. Polk, of Tennessee.

The Senate bowed to the will of the people, and passed the Texas treaty. President Tyler's last official act completed the work upon which he had set his heart, and welcomed the new State into the Union.

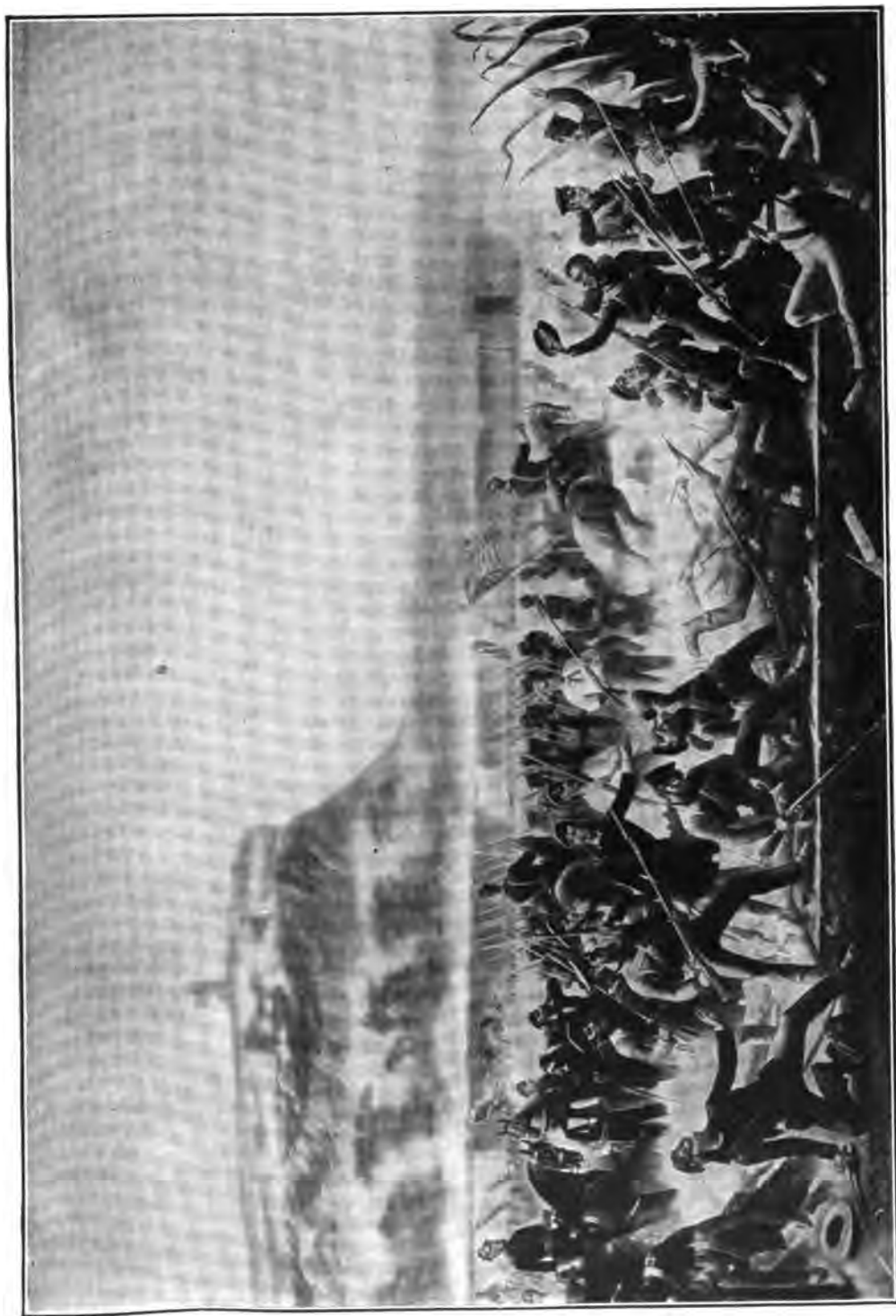
President Polk (1845-1849) had still wider views. Mexico had no real conception of the power of our fast growing country. She thought that if only

the terrible Texans were out of the way, she could easily whip the rest of us. She had threatened war if we admitted Texas. President Polk pushed matters to a crisis. He sent United States troops into the land along the Rio Grande, which was claimed by both Mexico and Texas. The Mexicans promptly attacked them (1846), and the President as promptly announced to Congress that Mexico had begun war against us, and that we must defend ourselves. He issued a call for fifty thousand troops, and so ready were some sections of our land for the war thus "forced" upon them, that ten times as many volunteers as were asked for stood ready to enlist.

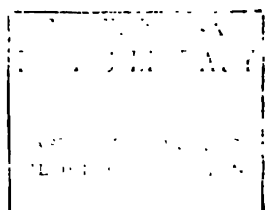
The war was one series of American successes. No comparison existed between the strength of the two countries, or apparently between the fighting powers of the individuals of the two races. The Mexicans struggled bravely and savagely, but were repeatedly and decisively defeated by smaller numbers of our troops. On the Rio Grande, General Taylor, the United States commander, led two thousand of his troops against six thousand of their foes at Palo Alto (May 8, 1846), and then on the next day against a similar force in the ravine of Resaca de la Palma. Both times the Mexicans were completely defeated, losing in all over fifteen hundred men. In September, Taylor followed up his victories by storming the city of Monterey. Then in February, 1847, while commanding about five thousand men, he was attacked at Buena Vista by twenty thousand Mexicans under their President, Santa Anna. Once more the Americans were triumphantly victorious, and all northeastern Mexico lay undisputed in Taylor's hands.

Meanwhile two expeditions, each small in numbers but tremendously important in result, were being undertaken to the northward. It must be remembered that at this time Mexico was well nigh as large as the United States, her territory extending from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coast as far northward as Oregon. Colonel Fremont, "the Pathfinder," was in Oregon in 1846 on an exploring expedition sent out by the United States Government. When the news of war reached him, he led his little band southward into California, summoned the Americans there to join him, defeated the feeble Mexican forces, and declared California an American republic. Soon after, a United States squadron arrived at San Francisco, and its commander joined with Fremont in placing California under the protection of our flag.

At the same time our Government had dispatched General Kearny from Missouri to attack California. He went southwestward through the wilderness into Texas, entered what is now New Mexico, conquered the ancient Spanish capital, Santa Fé, and, having taken possession of all the surrounding region, pushed on into Southern California, where he found Fremont's government in peaceful operation. Meanwhile, Kearny's second in command, Colonel Dono-



THE ASSAULT ON THE CASTLE OF CHAPULTEPEC



phan, marched southward from Santa Fé and after considerable fighting subdued all northern Mexico. Donophan pressed on until he met General Taylor south of the Rio Grande. Then he traversed the whole breadth of Texas and entered New Orleans, having completed a march of five thousand miles. These expeditions secured us in possession of the richer half of Mexico.

Not content with thus attacking the border regions, our Government was meanwhile planning an assault on the very heart of the enemy's country, the City of Mexico itself. General Winfield Scott, the veteran hero of 1812 and chief general of the United States army, was sent to undertake this daring exploit. European experts, knowing the dangerous mountain passes which separated the Mexican capital from the seacoast, ridiculed Scott's enterprise as impossible.

The seaport nearest to his goal was Vera Cruz, the "Gibraltar of Mexico." Scott, with the aid of a fleet, bombarded it and compelled its surrender (March 29, 1847). He then began his celebrated march across the mountains. He had only about twelve thousand troops, and Santa Anna soon gathered a far larger force to check the American advance. The Mexicans had the advantage of stone walls, strong fortresses, or rocky heights, and they fought with desperate bravery. Yet the Americans stormed one position after another, and at Cerro Gordo, Jalapa, and Perote won such dashing victories as deserve never to be forgotten. Then Scott took possession of the large city of Puebla, on the plateau beyond the coast mountains, and let his exhausted heroes rest until August.

With his available troops reinforced until they again numbered about ten thousand, Scott then began the second stage of his advance. There were still mountain ranges between him and the capital, but the Mexicans did not defend them. They had gathered thirty thousand troops behind the almost invulnerable fortifications surrounding the City of Mexico, and there they awaited the foe. In England, the Duke of Wellington, the aged conqueror of Napoleon, was following the campaign with interest, and he declared that Scott was lost, that he could not possibly carry the forts by storm, and the Mexicans had drawn him so far from his base of supplies that he could not retreat.

Fortunately, Scott thought differently. He had under him troops trained by this time, as he alone knew how to train them, to the very highest efficiency. He had a group of young West Point officers, ready to do and dare everything, men of brains as well as courage. Most of the great generals of our civil war acquired their first experience in Mexico. Jefferson Davis was a colonel under Taylor. Grant, Lee, McClellan, Stonewall Jackson, and a dozen others were with Scott.

The Mexican capital lies in the midst of a broad and marshy plain, which

can be traversed only upon the high artificial roads, built like bridges across its surface. Along these Scott had to fight his way. Battle followed battle. At the village of Contreras the entire Mexican army was repulsed, only to make a more determined stand around the convent of Churubusco. The old stone building had been turned into a fort, and its capture cost the Americans over a thousand men. Two weeks later they stormed the Molino del Rey, another well nigh impregnable group of stone buildings, and then swept on to the capture of the great castle of Chapultepec, which was reared high upon a rocky cliff and formed the main defence of the capital. It was captured, and the daring victors rushed on into the city itself. In some streets they had to fight their way from house to house.

The Mexicans proved themselves stubborn, subtle, and tenacious, but every man of the attacking forces was a hero. Lieutenant, afterward General, "Stonewall" Jackson stood alone beside the guns of his battery at Chapultepec, when a perfect storm of bullets had driven his soldiers to seek shelter behind walls and embankments. "There is no danger," he cried; and just then a cannon shot whirled between his feet as he walked. "You see," he insisted quietly, "I am not hit."

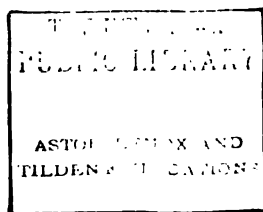
Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant helped his soldiers drag a mountain howitzer up into a belfry which overlooked the city wall; and alone, with his little company and his one gun, he bombarded the great capital. These are but instances of a thousand deeds of wit and daring before which the enemy were helpless. General Scott took formal possession of the conquered City of Mexico, September 17, 1847, and the war was over.

Santa Anna fled. A provisional Mexican government was scraped together, and a treaty of peace was concluded in February, 1848. By this, Texas was given the extreme southern boundary she had claimed, and Mexico sold to the United States for \$15,000,000 all the northern region which Fremont and Kearny had overrun, a territory which to-day includes California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and a large part of Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico. The Texan and Mexican additions together enlarged our country as much as Jefferson's Louisiana purchase had done.

During the war the Oregon question had also been adjusted. The Democrats abandoned their defiant campaign cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight," and came to an amicable agreement with England, by which Oregon was divided and the boundary line to the Pacific arranged as it now stands. By this we gained the southern and more valuable half of the disputed territory. Many people, however, felt that the Democratic politicians had tricked the nation. It was charged that they had never meant to seize Oregon, while they had increased slave territory not only by Texas, but by all the far Southwest.



GENERAL SCOTT AT THE BATTLE OF CONTRERAS



It was this feeling which led to their defeat in the presidential campaign of 1848.

The Whigs nominated General Taylor, who, though a Whig, was a Southerner, and the fortunate combination seemed to promise a relief from the burning slavery dispute. Moreover, the public likes a hero; the battle of Buena Vista was made the chief theme of the campaign, and Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, became President.

The year 1848, which had seen American slavery at the zenith of its power, saw also the beginning of its decline. A new era in the growth of our country had commenced, the era of foreign immigration. Marvellous as had been the rate of increase of America's population during the first part of the nineteenth century, it was far outstripped in the later half. The earlier increase had been among the Americans themselves, but now the tide of immigration from Europe began.

The difficulties of transportation throughout the world and the lack of any brighter land to seek, had once kept the impoverished victims of tyranny fairly submissive to the lash. But the United States now offered land to all who could cultivate it. The first line of steamships, the Cunard, began crossing the Atlantic in 1839. The first passenger railroad of America was run between Albany and Schenectady in 1831. The value of the iron tracks was at once realized, and by 1848 their great spider-webs extended far out toward the Mississippi.

In that year Europe faced a great social upheaval. Its people everywhere rebelled. They were suppressed, and the best and most resolute among them, gathering their little savings, deserted their native homes and crowded in throngs toward the land of liberty. Two hundred thousand came to America in 1848, and the number steadily increased, until in some years it has exceeded half a million—though the later comers have not always been of such sterling stock as the men of '48.

These seekers after liberty saw no charm in the slave States of the South. They entered the North, and moved toward the great Northwest, whole sections of which still disclose a foreign origin. If the North had outsped the South before, what chance had the latter now? The old order was changing fast.

Then came the discovery of gold in newly acquired California, gold deposits so vast that they cheapened the precious metal throughout the world. Men flocked to the mines. In 1848 General Kearny's march across the fifteen hundred miles of wilderness between the Mississippi and the Pacific had been esteemed a marvel. Fremont, the "Pathfinder," had gained fame by tracking its prairies and mountains. Now thousands of men undertook to perform un-

aided the feat in which all the government's aid had hardly enabled their predecessors to succeed.

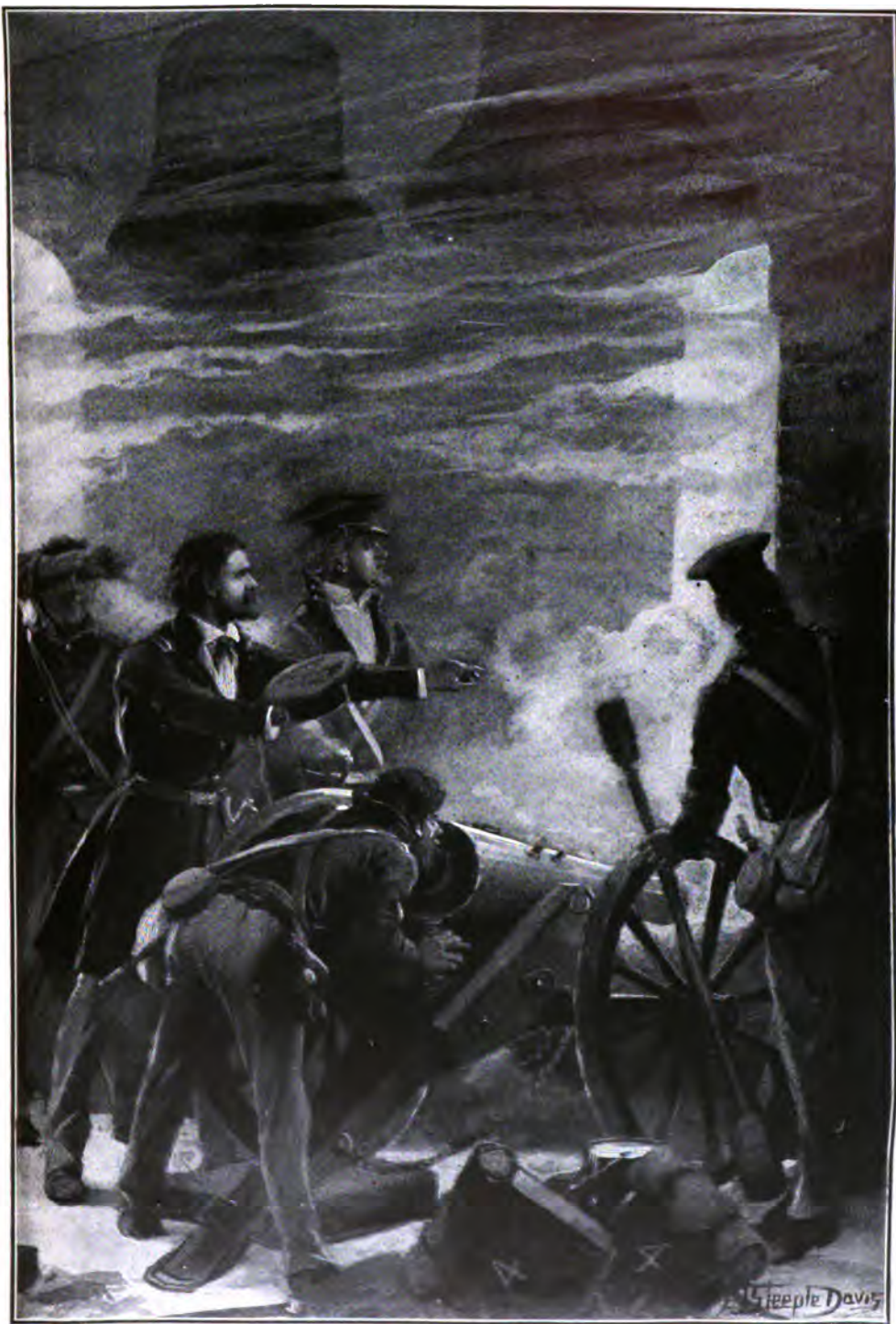
The Indians, driven steadily westward by succeeding generations of whites, now found their last solitude invaded. The new comers followed Fremont's paths, and soon bleaching skeletons whitened all the way, as guide and warning to whoever dared to brave the deserts and the red men. Other adventurers sailed around South America, a thousand dollars being eagerly paid for passage. San Francisco sprang into a great seaport. The population of California, which had been about 15,000 in 1847, was over 100,000 in 1850.

Never had such sudden growth been heard of. It outran the machinery of government, and those were wild and lawless days. The better classes of San Francisco formed a "Vigilance Committee," which managed the town from 1851 to 1856, and hanged robbers, murderers, and thieving politicians without the formality of a trial. As early as 1850 California was demanding admission as a State—and as a "free" State; for the men who had penetrated her wilderness were from the North.

This was a complete overturning of the plans of Southern leaders. They had counted on the Southwest for slave States, and they refused California admission. The North was deeply indignant. Debates more antagonistic than ever rang through the Congress of 1850. Disunion seemed so near that the aged Henry Clay, whose whole, long, grand life had been devoted to the welding of our Union, came forward once more with a compromise. It covered so many points that it was called the "Omnibus Bill"; but its chief measures were the admission of California as a free State and the passing of a severe "Fugitive Slave Law," which compelled Northern States to arrest escaping negroes and return them to the South.

The measure was violently opposed, but Daniel Webster, in a mighty speech for the Union, drew the Whig party to accept it. President Taylor, however, was too sturdy a fighter to consent to half measures. He threw aside his Southern friends, rejected equally the advice of his party, and insisted on California's unqualified admission, under such laws as she had chosen. In the midst of the tumult he died (1850).

Vice-President Millard Fillmore, of New York, succeeded to the presidency. He was a less aggressive man than Taylor, yielded to the advice of the Whig leaders, and the various enactments of the Omnibus Bill became law. It killed the Whig party. The friends of Webster in the North accused him of having deserted the high principles of liberty. A new political faction, the "Free Soil," known later as the "Republican" party, appeared, its fundamental principle being opposition to any law that aided slavery in any way or permitted its curse to be extended over a single inch of free soil. The Whigs did not real-



LIEUTENANT GRANT BOMBARDING THE CITY OF MEXICO

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ize that there was no middle course left, no space for them to occupy between the opposing foes. In 1852 they nominated for President the popular hero of Mexico, General Scott, but they were overwhelmingly defeated. The "Free Soilers" cut into their Northern vote, while the Democrats were united and determined in both North and South. The Democratic candidate, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, carried every State of the Union except four.

Webster did not live to see the downfall of his party. He died a few days before the election. Clay had already closed his long and useful life a few months before. Calhoun, the great Democratic leader of the South, had died during the dispute over the Omnibus Bill. Thus all the giants of a former generation passed away, as did the older issues of their times. Younger men came to the front, men bred in the bitterness of the strife and with their whole thoughts centred upon slavery. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, became the Southern leader. Stephen Douglas, of Illinois, guided the Northern Democrats. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and William H. Seward, of New York, championed the cause of "Free Soil."

Unfortunately for the Democrats, they did not look beneath the causes of their sweeping victory to see how hollow it had really been. They thought the country would uphold them in everything; and their Northern leader, Douglas, in 1854, introduced the celebrated Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Whether Douglas was really blind to the evil of his measure, or whether he sought to mount to the presidency through the favor of the Southerners, he proposed that the famous slavery line, $36^{\circ} 30'$, established over a generation before by the Missouri compromise, should be wiped out, and that the settlers in the two territories of Kansas and Nebraska, both north of the line, should be allowed to choose their own government, as California had done. He urged that the slavery question should be ended by taking it out of Congress' hands, that it was a local matter, and that the citizens of each State should decide it for themselves.

The practical result of the bill was to drive non-slavery Democrats from their party and harden the angry temper of the North. Resolute anti-slavery men filed westward from New England and poured into Kansas. Nebraska was too far north for dispute, but Kansas became a veritable battle-ground, "Bleeding Kansas." Missourians hurried into the territory to give it a slave majority, Northerners to make it free. Each side sought to drive out the other. There were murders, massacres, and the whole nation rang with the rising passions of civil war.

The Democratic national government strove to uphold the slavery faction, but the Northern advantage of numbers was irresistible. Kansas became not only a free territory, but the stronghold of union and liberty in the West, a mighty fort garrisoned upon the border of an enemy's country.

Then came the election of 1856; and there was no Whig party, it had disappeared. The "Know Nothings" who sought to evade the whole slavery strife still somewhat obscured the real issue between the old Democrats and the newly born Republicans. The Democrats insisted that the slavery issue was settled, that the tariff and foreign relations should take its place. Peace-loving men crowded to their ranks, and they won the election. But the new Republican party carried eleven out of the fifteen Northern States. The warning was too plain to be mistaken, and Southern leaders declared unreservedly that the election of a Republican would drive them from the Union.

The President, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania (1857-1861), labored anxiously to unite all factions. He insisted, as his party had, that the slavery issue was closed; but his party in Congress refused to admit Kansas as a free State. Moreover, they began to talk of taking possession of Cuba and of all Mexico.

Then came another evil result from the Kansas strife. Among the most notorious of the Northern settlers there, had been John Brown, an intense and bloody-minded fanatic. We can only excuse his Kansas atrocities by saying that there were men upon the other side equally ferocious and cruel, and that much brooding upon slavery had driven him well nigh insane. He had to flee from Kansas, a fugitive from justice. With a little band of followers supported by Northern funds, he suddenly entered Virginia and seized the United States military stores at Harper's Ferry. He meant to rally the Virginia slaves, place arms in their hands, and start a war of liberation. But the neighboring townfolk besieged Brown in the armory he had captured, and the State troops soon arrived and took him and his band prisoners. Several people were killed in the affray. Brown and six companions were tried by law and hanged, December 2, 1859. Their leader met his death with a calm fortitude which led many to look upon him as a martyr, though in truth justice has no words to defend the man who had broken all laws and led his followers to repeated and savage murder.

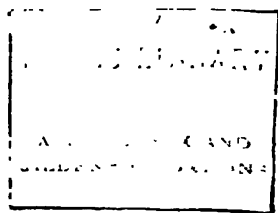
In the excited state of the public mind, John Brown's raid was magnified into a great national tragedy. The South accused the entire North of having approved and encouraged it. The North questioned the fairness of Brown's trial. The song with which the Northern troops marched to battle two years later, and which their children sing to-day, declares that

"John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave
But his soul is marching on."

The presidential campaign of 1860 was decisive of many things. Northern Democrats, though they desired peace, would no longer go to the increasing

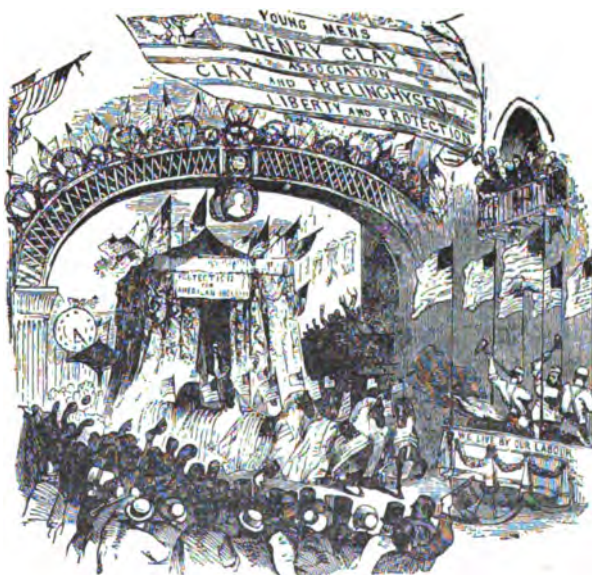


THE LAST COMPROMISE — CLAY URGING HIS "OMNIBUS" BILL UPON THE SENATE



extremes of pro-slavery legislation demanded by their Southern allies. The party split in two, the Northern half nominating Stephen Douglas, and the Southerners John Breckinridge, Buchanan's Vice-President. The Republicans, with the ever-increasing, ever-growing anti-slavery sentiment behind them, nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. He was not one of their most prominent leaders, but he had recently been nominated for the Illinois senatorship against Douglas, and in a series of celebrated debates had forced his renowned antagonist into a position unsatisfactory to the South. Thus, in truth, it had been Lincoln who divided the Democratic party.

The Republicans insisted that they had no intention of attacking slavery where it already existed, but only of preventing its extension. Nevertheless, the South saw plainly that triumphant Republicanism could not long maintain this attitude, and that slavery would be gradually hampered, legislated against, throttled, slain. Many of its leaders renewed their warning that if a Republican President was elected they would secede. The North accepted the challenge. Lincoln carried every Northern State, and was elected by 180 electoral votes to Breckinridge's 72. The men of compromise were dead. The sad hour of disunion, threatening through all the seventy years of national life, had come at last.



A WHIG PROCESSION IN NEW YORK



INSIDE FORT SUMTER

Chapter XVIII

THE REBELLION—THE BREAKING OF THE TIES

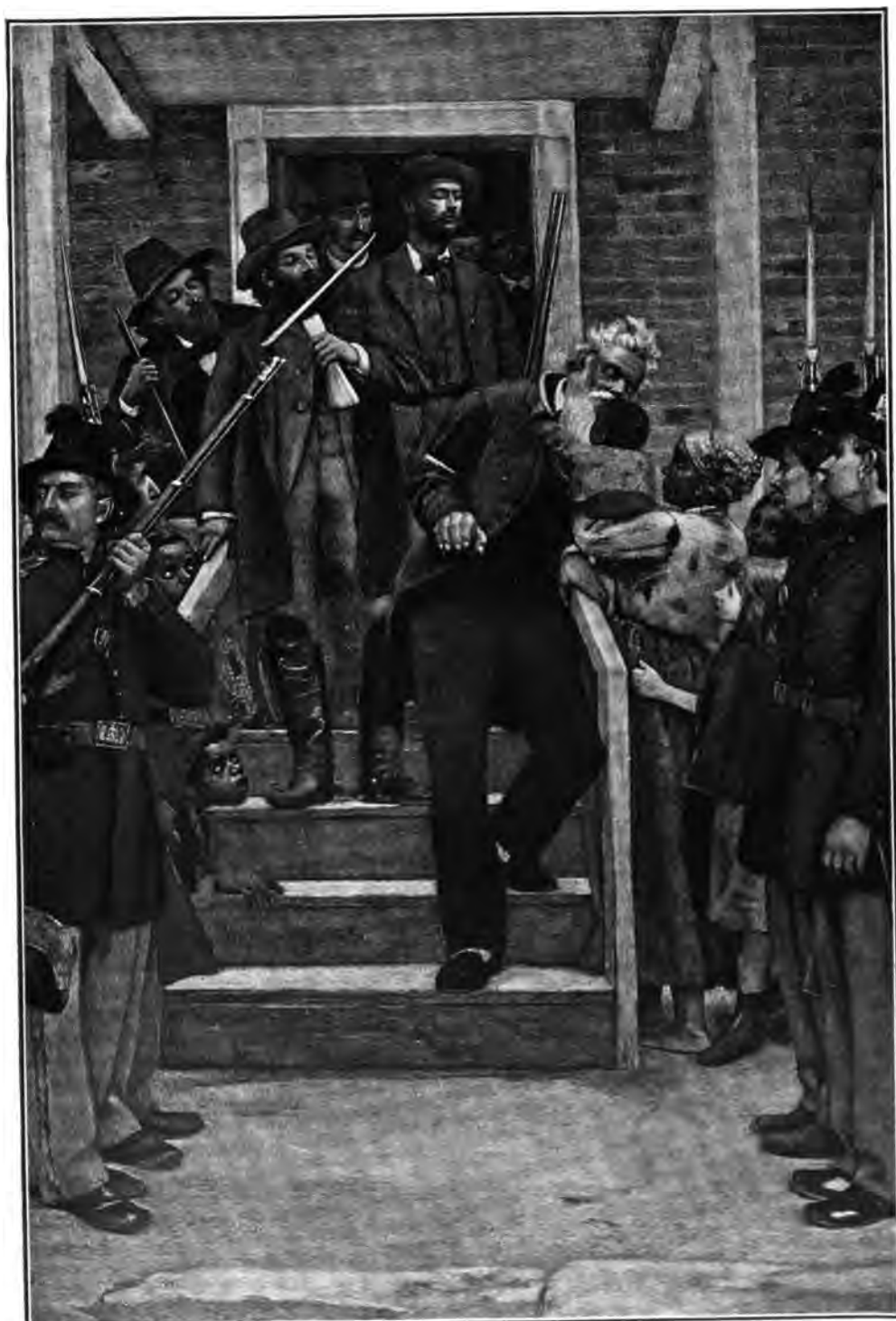
[*Authorities:* Nicolay and Hay, "Abraham Lincoln"; Horace Greeley, "The American Conflict"; A. H. Stephens, "Constitutional View of the War"; Dodge, "A Bird's-eye View of the Civil War"; F. W. Seward, "Seward"; Pollard, "Lost Cause"; Jefferson Davis, "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government"; Hodgson, "The Cradle of the Confederacy"; Pike, "First Blows of the Civil War."]]



THE four months that intervened between Lincoln's election in 1860 and his inauguration in 1861 were the most threatening in the history of our nation. The people of the North had not realized how deeply their Southern neighbors were in earnest. The threat of disunion had often been hurled across the political battle-field, and the North had taken it as a mere form of words. The Union, erected by their ancestors' devotion, consecrated by Webster's impassioned and resistless eloquence, seemed to them an eternally established nation.

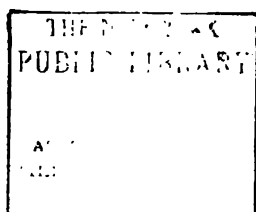
The States of the West, erected on soil originally belonging to the central government, had no conception of themselves as powers superior to that government. Even in the older States of the Northeast, the days of their separate colonial existence had been long outgrown. The tremendous influx of foreigners had come to settle, not in this State or in that, but in America, in the "land of the free." The steady flow of travel, the railroads, the constant intercourse, had made State lines what they are to-day, minor divisions oftentimes forgotten.

But while one part of the Nation had thus developed and solidified, the



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JOHN BROWN LED TO EXECUTION



South under the deadly incubus of slavery had stagnated. Her people looked upon the federation of the States just as their ancestors had done. They were loath to break the ties hallowed by so many proud memories; but they never for a moment questioned their *right* to do so. The North had defied their threat of secession; they determined to make it good.

South Carolina, ever the leader in extreme Southern doctrines, was the first State to withdraw. Immediately on receiving the news of Lincoln's election, her Legislature summoned a convention, and that body, on December 20, 1860, annulled the ancient act of 1788, by which their fathers had entered the Union. Charleston papers at once began to print matter from Washington under the headline, "Foreign News." In the January and February following, all the Gulf States, the far southern rim of the country from Texas through Georgia, followed South Carolina's example, and delegates from each of them met at Montgomery, in Alabama, and formed a league, "the Confederate States of America." They elected Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, their President, and Alexander Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President.

It must not be supposed that this destruction of ancient ties was an easy matter for Southern men. Many followed their leaders most unwillingly. Indeed, the only argument that drew them into line was that the secession was but temporary, that the astounded North would eagerly offer any slavery concessions they demanded. In short, that they could "make better terms out of the Union than in it."

Even this specious plea failed to draw the second tier of Southern States, Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia, into the "Confederacy." The ties that bound them to the Nation were stronger. Virginia in particular, which had done more than any other State to make the Union, recoiled from the thought of destroying it. When she called a convention to consider the matter, a large majority of the delegates elected were instructed against secession, and the convention declared its continued allegiance to the Washington government. It continued in session, waiting, and hoping that some happy adjustment of the great issue might still be found.

This seemed for the moment not impossible. The North was in deepest anxiety and doubt. Even Republican leaders were not ready to sanction war. Convention after convention was held, measure upon measure urged in Congress, all looking toward compromise and concession. The South might indeed have dictated almost any terms with regard to slavery, if only she would consent to Union. But her leaders were intoxicated with excitement and what seemed the certainty of success. They would accept no terms, no conditions. As State after State seceded, its representatives in Congress resigned their seats with dramatic speeches, sorrowful at first, but as time passed on ringing

more and more triumphant and defiant. They looked on the wavering North with scorn.

President Buchanan, a Northern man elected by Southern votes, may be regarded as the type of a large portion of the North. He declared that the South had no right to secede, that the Constitution had been meant for an indissoluble bond; but at the same time, if States were determined to break their plighted faith, he could see no way to prevent it: Union could not exist by force. South Carolina sent commissioners to treat about assuming a share of the national debt and about other matters, but the President refused to receive them, or in any way to acknowledge the Confederacy. Thus matters came to a standstill. Buchanan's only effort was to keep them there, until the brief remainder of his term was over and his terrible responsibility passed into other hands.

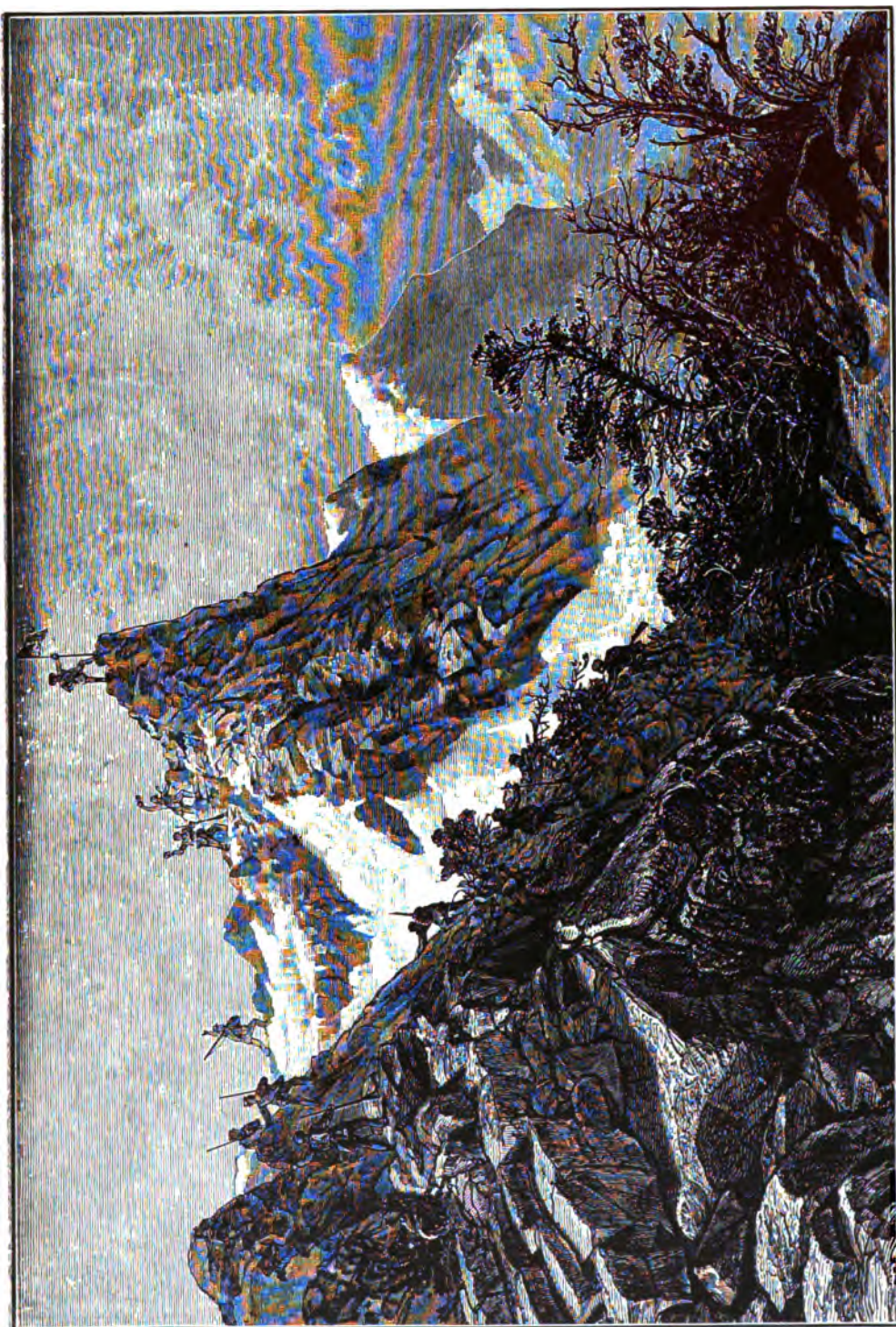
The members of his Cabinet sought to hurry him this way or that. The Secretary of State, a strong Union man, resigned because the President would not reinforce United States garrisons in Southern forts. The Southern officials tried to push their chief into a recognition of the Confederacy.

One of them, John B. Floyd, became a deliberate traitor to the government he was sworn to serve. Foreseeing the possibility of conflict, he used his authority as Secretary of War to send a large portion of the government arms and ammunition to Southern arsenals, where they were promptly appropriated by the seceding States. Thus the military strength of the Confederacy was greatly increased and that of the Union diminished.

Most of the United States regular troops were at the time in Texas, guarding the Mexican frontier. Their general, a Southerner, surrendered them with all their stores to the State of Texas. Almost every fort in the South was taken possession of in the same manner. Only in a very few places did resolute and patriotic United States officers refuse to yield their commands.

One of these was at Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston. The garrison there under Major Anderson was short of food, and President Buchanan did muster resolution to dispatch a steamer to them with supplies. It was fired upon by Southern cannon and compelled to retreat. "Your flag has been insulted," taunted a fiery Texan in Congress; "redress it if you dare." It was in the midst of such scenes as these that Lincoln assumed the presidency.

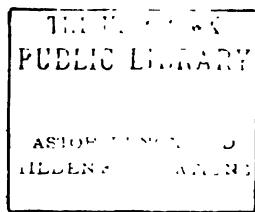
The eyes of the entire country were turned upon him in anxiety. What, indeed, did he mean to do about it all? He was not at that period a clearly outlined figure in the public eye. The world thought of him as an uncouth, uncultured Westerner, sprung from the common people, a keen debater who had pierced to the heart of the bewildering slavery question and forced the great Senator Douglas to take the decided stand which had split the Democratic



From "Pioneers in the settlement of America."

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FREMONT AT THE SUMMIT OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS



party into North and South. That was the public picture of the new President. But was he a great administrator? Was he the ablest guide for this awful crisis, when the Union seemed dissolving into chaos, and the tried statesman Buchanan was abandoning the helm in despair?

We know now that Lincoln was the great common sense of the nation, that he was a mighty controlling force, a power unmeasured and even yet immeasurable. But the world of 1861 did not know him thus. William H. Seward, of New York, the active leader of Republican statesmen at Washington, had accepted the place of Secretary of State, and assumed that he was still to remain the real guide of the Republican councils. Nothing could exceed the quiet dignity with which Lincoln relegated him to his proper subordinate place; nothing, indeed, unless it were the manliness with which Seward accepted the rebuke and continued in the service of his chief.

The new President approached his duty with solemn and religious earnestness. "I go," he told his friends, "to assume a task more difficult than Washington's." His inaugural speech was modest and peaceful of tone, yet it rang with clear meaning and no uncertain purpose. He meant, he said, to abide strictly by his presidential oath to uphold the Constitution. Since that permitted slavery, he had no right and no inclination to interfere with it. But neither should the Constitution be broken by allowing the States to secede. "In your hands," he told the South, "and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect, and defend it."

That straightforward, manly speech embodies the policy of Lincoln's entire administration. He took the whole world into his confidence, said what he meant to do, and did it. Slavery was a minor matter; he did not like, but would not quarrel with it. Union to him was all in all. For that, if needs must, he would fight. His simple words went straight to Northern hearts; for most men felt exactly as he. The North had found a leader it could follow.

Lincoln waited quietly. Excited men called on him to do this or to do that, but he refused to be hurried. He sought to give men's passions time to cool. Still, the Fort Sumter matter pressed. Provisions there were almost exhausted, and against the advice of his cabinet, the President insisted that he would "send bread to Anderson." He acted openly for all the world to see, and notified the South Carolina government of his intention.

Charleston men had already built a ring of batteries about Sumter, and they opened a bombardment (April 12, 1861) to compel it to yield before the sup-

plies could arrive. After enduring two days of cannonading, his ammunition being gone, his men exhausted, and his fort on fire, Anderson surrendered. The issue was thus clearly established. The flag of the United States had been "humbled before the glorious little State of South Carolina," as the infatuated Governor of the "glorious" State proclaimed.

On April 15, Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers, not to attack slavery, but to put down an armed assault upon the Union, to avenge the insult to our well-loved flag. There was no lack of enthusiasm now. The North had found its spokesman, and knew its own heart-purpose. The voice of party hushed; the voice of the Nation was heard. Senator Douglas gave the President his heartiest support, and Democrats everywhere followed readily in the footsteps of their leader. Even ex-President Buchanan agreed that, the flag having been assailed, its armed defence became absolutely necessary. So swiftly and surely had one man swept from all minds the mists of hesitation.

Volunteers poured into Washington. One regiment marching through Baltimore was assailed by a secession mob (April 19), and several men were slain, the first bloodshed of four years of desperate and sanguinary battle. Soon, however, the volunteers came in such numbers that secession mobs grew frightened, and Maryland, though a slave State, was saved to the Union without fighting.

In the South, President Lincoln's call for troops proved quite as effective in the other direction. It was actually to be war then! The slow-going North was resolved at last. Southern armies, superbly self-confident and eager for the contest, gathered quite as fast as Northern ones. The second tier of slave States, compelled to fight either for their neighbors or against them, threw in their lot with the Confederacy. The same Virginia convention which had before voted for union, now voted for secession. So did North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Even in the most northern row of slave States, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri wavered and showed divided minds, though they were ultimately saved to the nation. Little Delaware, the first commonwealth to enter the Union, was the only slave State that clung to it unquestioningly throughout.

Let us look for a moment at the resources of both sides in the struggle thus begun, that we may understand the confidence and defiance with which the South advanced, and the strength of the resistance she displayed. Her entire population was but nine million of which over three million were slaves; while the North, exclusive of the doubtful border States, held nineteen million of free people. Moreover, the North was much the richer section, and possessed almost all the manufactories and the shipping of the country.

Yet the fighting strength of the two regions was not so unequal as these:



THE PRESIDENTS OF THE PRO-SLAVERY DAYS

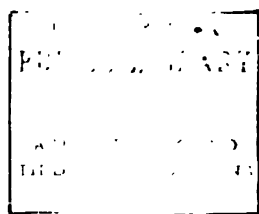
Fillmore

Taylor

Pierce

Buchanan

Polk



heavy advantages would suggest. The slaves were as useful to the South as free men, since by raising the necessary supplies they left almost the entire white population free for battle. Nearly every Southerner was accustomed to hunting and shooting, while the recruits who flocked to the armies of the North, were most of them ignorant of both horses and weapons. Neither side lacked brain or brawn or courage, but the Northerners had to be trained up to the fighting level of their foes. Thus the South had rather the advantage at the start, especially as she stood on the defensive and left invasion to her foe. It took years before she was slowly worn to defeat by the wealth and numbers of the North.

It is thus that we measure the contestants, looking backward; but it was not so that the fiery South weighed matters at the outset. Her sons, she boasted, would easily defeat the Northern "mudsills" or foreigners. She expected Northern Democrats to protest against the attack on "State sovereignty," and clog the movements of the government. She expected England and other countries to help her in the interests of "King Cotton," so necessary to their mills. But Europe hesitated to espouse openly the cause of slavery; and the Democrats, as we have seen, joined heartily in upholding Lincoln. Thus, thrown back upon her own resources, let us see how the South with her "fire-eating" sons made headway against the North.

The first clash of arms took place in the border States. The Unionists were repelled with loss in one or two small engagements on Virginia soil. In what is now West Virginia, but was then a part of the mother State, the Union sentiment was very strong. United States troops were led there by General George B. McClellan to aid the natives; and in a short, sharp campaign the Confederate forces were driven out of the entire region, which was thus recovered to the Union. In 1863 it was rewarded for its loyalty by being made a separate State.

In both Kentucky and Missouri, secession minorities tried to draw the States into the Confederacy. The Kentucky Unionists were too strong to give the movement much chance of success. But in Missouri the Governor actually declared the State out of the Union. Only the energy and promptness of a United States officer at St. Louis, Captain Nathaniel Lyon, turned the current of affairs. He repeatedly attacked and dispersed large bodies of Southern troops. For nearly a year Missouri was desolated by a civil war of its own, while bands of marauders owing small allegiance to either party pillaged everywhere. Lyon was slain in a gallant attack upon a superior force at "Wilson's Creek"; but he had given the Union government time to gather its strength, and the State was saved.

General Fremont took command for the Union in the West, and in

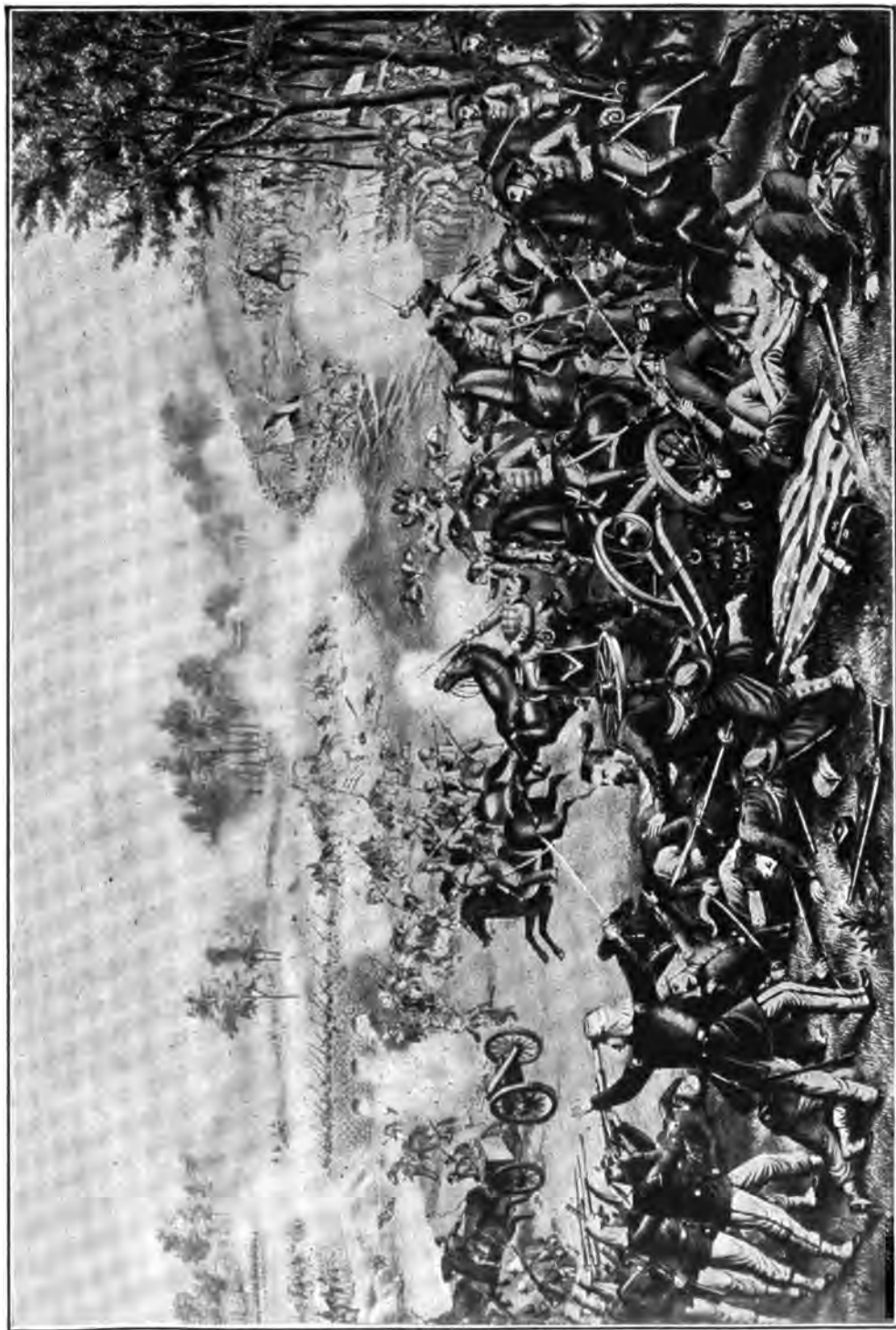
August of 1861 issued a proclamation declaring that Missouri was under military law and that the slaves of all rebels would be freed. This was the first "Emancipation Proclamation." President Lincoln feared it would drive the border States into the Confederacy, and he annulled Fremont's action. He thus kept the slavery issue still in the background, and insisted that the struggle was solely one for Union.

Meanwhile, the main action of war centred around the national capital. As soon as Virginia joined the Confederacy, the Southern government established itself at Richmond, and thus the two capitals frowned defiantly at each other, separated by scarce a hundred miles of sparsely populated plains and forest. Washington, situated as it was between Maryland and Virginia, might almost be said to be surrounded by hostile territory; but the volunteers who poured to its defence soon made the nation feel secure, and the cry, "On to Richmond," was heard everywhere in the North. Men forgot that the raw recruits were not really armies, and the newspapers clamored against the "idleness" in which they were training. General Scott, the aged hero of the Mexican war, was our head general; but he was old, and the active command devolved on General Irvin McDowell. President Lincoln was, by the Constitution, in supreme control of all the forces; but he frankly admitted his military ignorance, and was compelled to rely upon his generals. Public opinion forced McDowell to advance.

He led his troops from Washington on July 16, and on July 21, with perhaps twenty-five thousand men, attacked the Confederate forces under General Beauregard, which, in numbers about equal to his own, lay across the line of his advance at a little creek called Bull Run, not far from the town of Manassas. The Union attack was valorous and for a time successful. Its energy astounded the Southern fire-eaters, who were driven back from several of their posts. But the superior military strategy of the Confederate generals, painfully apparent upon many fields, turned the tide of battle.

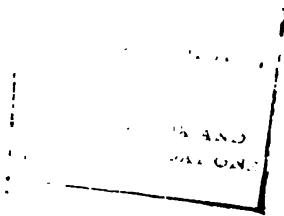
General Joseph E. Johnston, one of the two great leaders of the South, was in command of a second and smaller army, many miles away. A superior Union force was supposed to be holding him in check; but, after putting this on the defensive by a threatened attack, Johnston suddenly shipped the main body of his men on the railroad, carried them to Manassas, and was in time to hurl them in a gallant charge against the advancing Unionists. The latter, exhausted and overwhelmed, broke and fled in utter rout. Most of them poured back into Washington, a confused and helpless mob.

There was only a little scattering pursuit by detached bodies. The war seemed to the Confederates already over. They had only to wait for the Washington government to acknowledge their independence. Many of their volun-

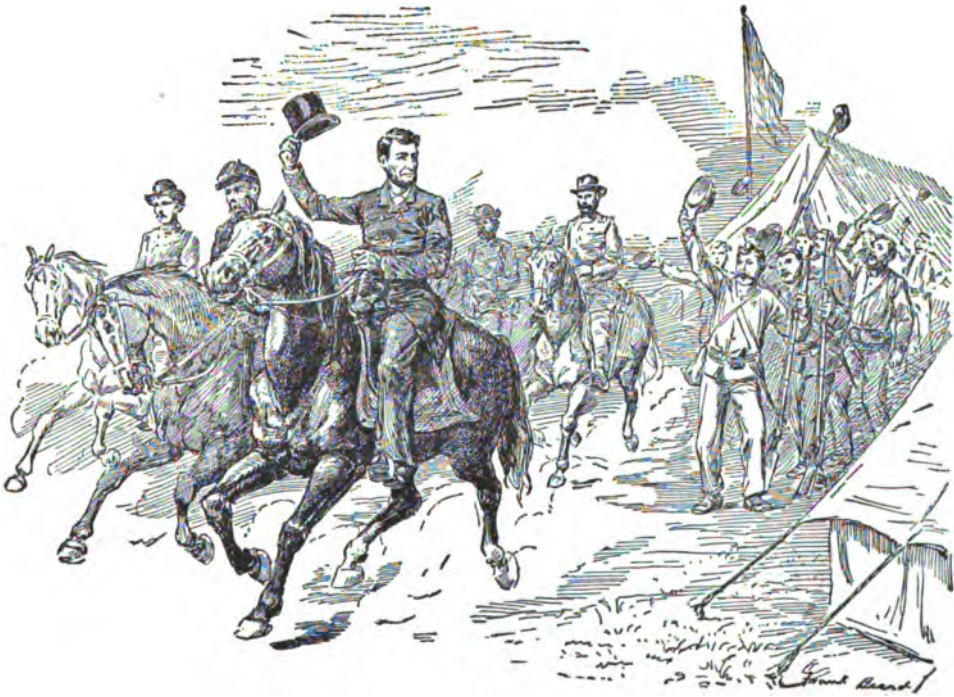


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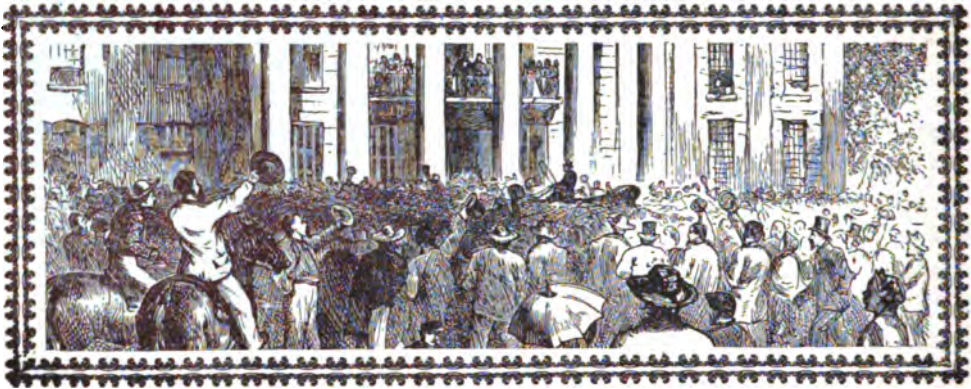
THE UNION FLIGHT AT BULL RUN



teers shouldered their rifles and galloped proudly off for home, to carry the happy news. It seems strange that they should have so undervalued the slow tenacity of the North, so little understood the calm, stern spirit of the man who sat in the White House chair, the leader and personification of all that the great North was or hoped to be. Lincoln's answer to the defeat of Bull Run was to call for five hundred thousand Union volunteers; and the five hundred thousand came without a murmur. Instead of being ended, the war had only just begun.



LINCOLN VISITING THE "ARMY OF THE POTOMAC"

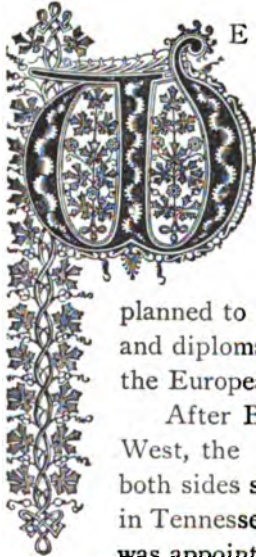


INAUGURATION OF JEFFERSON DAVIS AT MONTGOMERY

Chapter XIX

THE REBELLION—THE PERIOD OF GLOOM

[*Authorities*: "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," Century Co.; R. Johnson, "Short History of the War of Secession"; Ropes, "Story of the Civil War"; U. S. Grant, "Personal Memoirs"; Comte de Paris, "Military History of the Civil War"; Cist, "The Army of the Cumberland"; Greene, "The Mississippi"; Mahan, "David Farragut"; Headley, "Farragut and Our Naval Commanders"; Palfrey, "Antietam and Fredericksburg"; White, "Lee and the Southern Confederacy"; Swinton, "Army of the Potomac," "Twelve Decisive Battles."]



Turn now to follow the long and terrible conflict, and to outline the gigantic military operations of the war. President Lincoln and his advisers saw that they had before them a fourfold task. Their main purpose was of course to defend Washington while attacking Richmond. It was also necessary to advance southward through Kentucky and Missouri to crush the rebellion in the West. At the same time, a vast series of naval operations was planned to cut the Confederates off from receiving foreign supplies; and diplomatic methods were employed to prevent them from securing the European military alliances they had anticipated.

After Bull Run there were no important battles in 1861. In the West, the Federal forces held most of Missouri and Kentucky, while both sides strengthened themselves for the struggle farther southward in Tennessee. In the East McClellan, the victor in West Virginia, was appointed to command the gathering Union volunteers; and he drilled and organized them, until from a mere mass of men they became an army.

The United States navy at the opening of the war had been scattered all over the world. Many of its ships were destroyed in Southern harbors. This gave the Confederates time to fit out privateers. England gladly helped them,

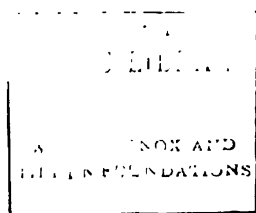


THE PRESIDENTS AFTER THE REBELLION

Lincoln
Johnson

Garfield

Grant
Hayes



and English-built ships flying the Confederate flag practically drove our commerce from the ocean. The introduction of steam had already transferred to Britain a large portion of our carrying trade. Now she secured it all, nor have we ever regained more than a fraction of our own maritime traffic.

Our government hastened to despatch war-vessels in pursuit of the Southern privateers, and every merchant ship available was converted into a man-of-war, to aid in blockading the Southern coast. The first important attack of the series by which the Confederate ports were finally captured, was sent against Beaufort, South Carolina, in October, 1861, under the control of Commander Dupont. For four hours his ships steamed in circles round the harbor, bombarding the forts, until their defenders were driven out and Northern soldiers took possession of the port and city.

In foreign diplomacy the Confederacy was almost successful. Great Britain had at once "recognized the belligerency" of the rebels, that is, she commanded her own subjects to give no aid to either side. This in itself was practically a victory for the South, since it prevented the Washington government from importing war materials from abroad. The other European nations followed England's example. Their next step might easily be to recognize the Confederacy as an independent nation, and enter into alliance with her. She even despatched two commissioners abroad, to make terms for this purpose.

These gentlemen, Senators Mason and Slidell, slipped out of Charleston in a blockade runner to Havana, and from there embarked for England on the British steamer "Trent." Captain Wilkes in one of our men-of-war stopped the "Trent," and made prisoners of Mason and Slidell and their secretaries (November 8, 1861). This was an exercise of that very "Right of Search" with which Britain had once offended us. The North was delighted; Captain Wilkes was everywhere banqueted, and Congress gave him a vote of thanks.

President Lincoln, however, saw more clearly into the matter. He feared, he said, we had taken "two white elephants" on our hands. The English government, already inclined to favor the South, talked very haughtily about the "insult to her flag," hurried troops to Canada and made warlike preparations. We could not afford another war just then, and our government withdrew from the awkward situation by disavowing Captain Wilkes' action, and restoring the Confederate commissioners to an English ship,—Secretary Seward sending word that he was glad Great Britain had finally been converted to our views regarding the "Right of Search." It should be added that Messrs. Mason and Slidell met with no success on their errand, anywhere in Europe.

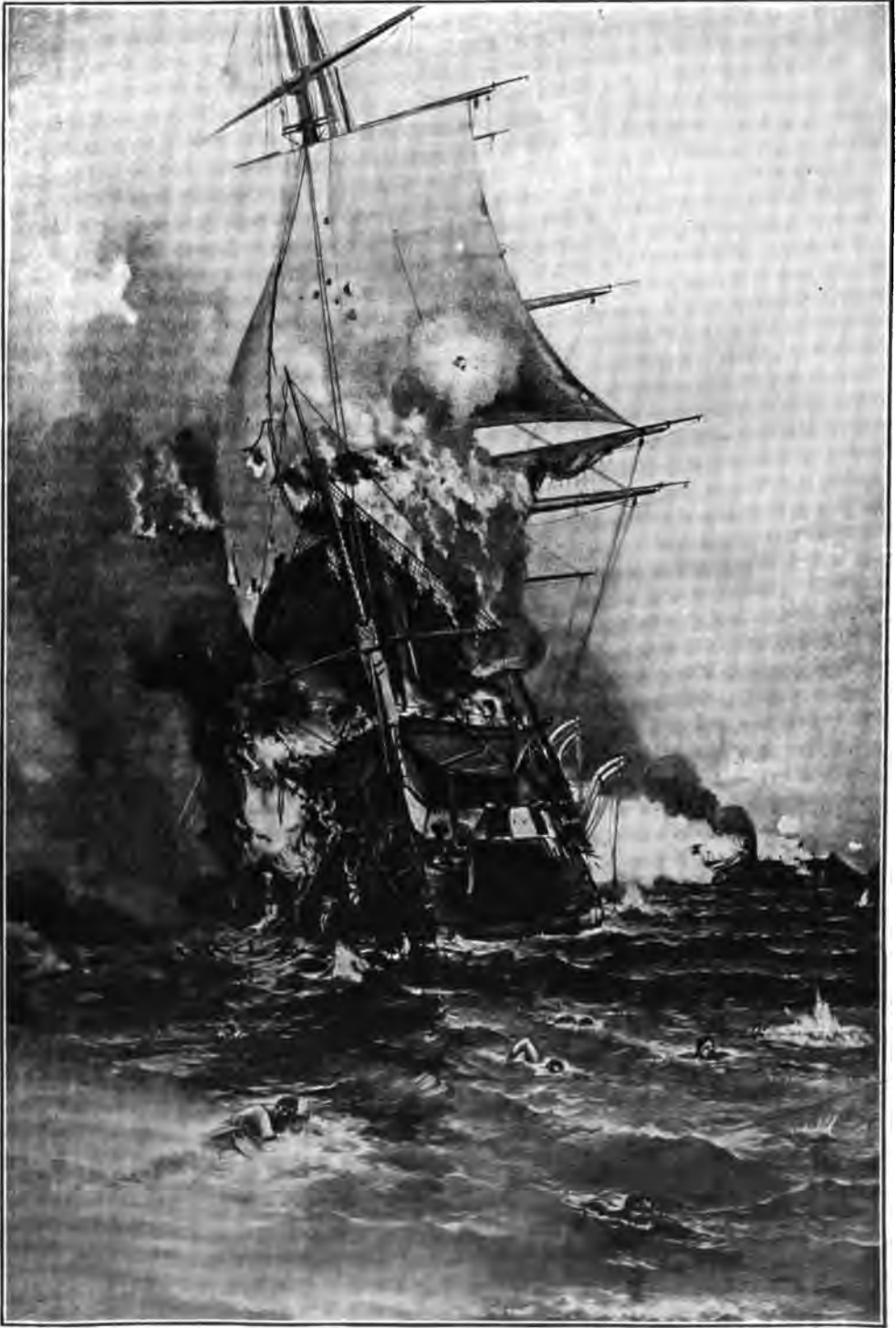
There is no doubt that the English Parliament and upper classes would gladly have seen the Confederacy successful. But our government removed all ground for interference; Queen Victoria was nobly opposed to war of every

kind; and the English common people began to realize that the contest being fought out here was really that of free and honorable labor against the unpaid toil of slaves. Both interest and sympathy thereafter bound them to the North, and their government could scarce have dragged them into war.

Early in 1862 the real conflict began. The forces on both sides were marshalled, the genius of both sides awoke. Two naval conflicts have made the spring of this year famous in history. The Confederates of Virginia raised the United States frigate "Merrimac," which had been sunk at the opening of hostilities. They cut away her masts, covered her with railroad iron, and gave her a huge steel ram or prow. Thus equipped, she steamed out of the James River, and attacked the Federal fleet blockading its mouth (March 8). Their cannon pounded harmlessly against her iron shield. She first attacked the sloop-of-war "Cumberland," and pierced her with the iron ram. The "Cumberland" hoisted a red flag of "no surrender," and fought until she sank with a third of her crew dead or dying; but the "Merrimac" minded the buffeting of the storm of shot no more than a rain of pebbles.

Then the Southern monster attacked the frigate "Congress," which had run aground, and which surrendered after a hopeless struggle, burned, and then blew up. The more distant vessels of the Union squadron hurried gallantly to the aid of their comrades, but grounded one after another in the shallow waters. Unable to reach them because of her great draught, the "Merrimac" steamed back up the river, intending to return on the morrow, and well content with her first day's work. The news of her achievements flashed across the telegraph wires, north and south, and created great excitement. It was thought that she might proceed to bombard every Northern city, and that the fleets of the Union would be powerless against her.

The next day, when she returned down the James to complete her work of destruction, a queer-looking craft which had just arrived from New York, after narrowly escaping sinking on the way, steamed out from the Federal fleet to meet her. This little "tin can on a shingle" was the "Monitor," the first vessel of her type, an ironclad invented by John Ericsson and commanded by Lieutenant Worden. The two strange antagonists fought an indecisive conflict. On the whole, the Monitor had perhaps the best of it. She was scarce a fifth the size of her foe, and kept dancing around, pouring in shots from the great guns of her revolving turret, and easily avoiding the other's ram. Half the time the ponderous "Merrimac" could not even bring her batteries to bear upon the active enemy, and had to endure her pounding in sullen silence. The Confederate vessel soon turned back up the river. Nor did she ever again attempt the conflict. She remained one of the defences of Richmond, until, fearing her capture, the Confederates destroyed her.



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THE "MERRIMAC" DESTROYING THE "CONGRESS"

ANTHONY J. ...
TELEPHONE ...

The advent of the "Merrimac" and "Monitor" revolutionized the navies of the world. American genius had made wooden ships obsolete, and useless for real battle. Great Britain and every other Power hastened to imitate us in the building of iron ships.

Even before this celebrated contest, Admiral Farragut had been placed in command of the most extensive fleet ever gathered under the American flag. This was sent to capture New Orleans, the largest city and chief port of the South, the key to the Mississippi, whose waters Lincoln had already termed "the backbone of the Confederacy." New Orleans was guarded by two tremendously powerful forts, below which a chain of old hulks blockaded the river, and above which lay a rebel fleet, with two ironclads of the Merrimac type, one of them, however, not quite finished.

Farragut's ships broke the chain, managed to evade the fire-rafts sent down against them, and darted defiantly past the forts in three columns, Farragut himself leading the second in his flagship, the "Hartford." Then they met the rebel fleet, and without waiting to be attacked, the "Mississippi" charged the dreaded ironclad, head on. The other Union ships followed this gallant example and the much buffeted and battered foe was boarded and destroyed. Every boat in the Southern fleet was sunk or captured (April 24, 1862). The next day New Orleans surrendered. Commissioners Mason and Slidell wrote from Europe that this daring capture of the chief Confederate port destroyed all hope of foreign recognition.

Meanwhile, military operations were opening in the West. General Ulysses S. Grant, whom we have seen as one of the young heroes of the Mexican War, was in command of the United States forces in the district including Western Kentucky along the Mississippi. Grant has never been regarded as a great military genius, but he was a master among men; one whose sure strength made others strong, a grim, resolute fighter, not easily to be surprised, never flurried or excited, and utterly incapable of realizing when he was beaten. He had small patience with the slow methods of preparation adopted by the Union authorities after Bull Run, and he repeatedly urged General Halleck, the commander-in-chief in the West, to permit him to advance. At last Halleck consented, and in February, 1862, Grant moved against Fort Donelson.

This was the first important Confederate advance post, a series of strong fortifications on the Cumberland River in Tennessee, just south of the Kentucky boundary. It was garrisoned by over fifteen thousand men, under John B. Floyd, the traitor Secretary of War. Fort Henry, a smaller post, was first bombarded and captured by a fleet of United States gunboats under Commodore Foote; then the ships advanced with Grant's troops to the attack on

Floyd. Grant had an army no larger than that of his opponent, but he managed to circle Fort Donelson, and his men charged upon the outworks. The fighting on the first day was bloody but indecisive; the Union gunboats were driven off. The winter weather was bitterly cold and in the night that followed some of the unfortunate sentinels of both armies were frozen to death at their posts of duty. Grant, however, persisted in his attack. On the second day, the Confederates attempted to cut their way through his lines and escape. They were driven back by his heroic soldiers, and more of their works were captured. The Union army secured a commanding position. Floyd, fearing he would be shot if captured, fled in the night, taking with him such few troops as could escape by the unguarded river.

The next morning (February 16, 1862) the remainder of the garrison asked for terms. Grant's stern response has become famous: "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works."

The Confederate general yielded, and fifteen thousand men, the largest force that had ever been captured in America, became Grant's prisoners. This victory, occurring even before Farragut's success at New Orleans, was the first important triumph of the Union cause. It was received with deepest thankfulness throughout the North. The happy combination of Grant's initials with those of his despatch was seized upon, and the newspapers nicknamed him "Unconditional Surrender Grant." Here was a man, the public felt, who would not let slip the fruits of victory.

Grant justified this faith. He gathered such reinforcements as he could, and advanced southward through Tennessee, until he reached almost to the Alabama border at Shiloh, or as it is sometimes called "Pittsburg Landing," on the Tennessee River. This move brought him far into the heart of the Confederacy; and its strongest forces in the West were marshalled to resist the invasion. General Albert Sidney Johnston, accounted one of the ablest of the Southern leaders, headed fully forty thousand men in a sudden and well-devised attack upon Grant at Shiloh (April 6, 1862). The Union force was taken by surprise, Grant himself was on the other side of the river; and when he hurried back, it was to find his army already at the point of defeat. Its centre was broken, half the artillery captured, and the men pushed back in crowded confusion along the water's edge. His coolness brought order out of the chaos; the gunboats on the river helped to check the further advance of the foe; and at this opportune moment for the Union cause, General Johnston was killed by a cannon shot.

That ended the fighting for the day, and during the night Grant was heavily reinforced. With his usual persistency, he himself began the next morning's



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GRANT AT SHILOH

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battle by an attack, and the weaker Confederate line was forced slowly back until it retreated from the field. Shiloh was the first of those gigantic and furiously contested battles which made the Rebellion so cruelly wasteful of human life. A hundred thousand men were engaged in the awful struggle, and over a fifth of them were killed or wounded. The Union loss, owing to the confusion of the first day, was much heavier than that of the Confederates; but, as Grant had already realized, one point in the tragic game was that the North could afford to lose men, the South could not. A chess player will sacrifice all his own pieces except one, if in so doing he can gain all of his opponent's. It was in such mood that Grant entered upon the game of war. It is in such mood alone that its hideous strategy can successfully be played.

Shiloh was a Union victory; but it had come very near to being a defeat, and the President's military advisers urged Grant's removal from command. After much thought Lincoln shook his head, "I can't spare this man," he said, "he fights."

Soon after Shiloh, the Union forces took possession of the neighboring citadel of Corinth in Mississippi, and of Memphis, the capital of Tennessee. Before the end of the year, they held the entire Mississippi River, with the exception of the formidable fortifications of Vicksburg. These held out defiantly against Grant's every effort.

While he was moving against the city, the chief Confederate force in the West, now under command of General Braxton Bragg, withdrew from before him and made a sudden, spectacular raid northward through Tennessee and Kentucky. Bragg's advance guard reached as far as Cincinnati, and caused great alarm in the North. The pursuing Union force under General Buell finally compelled the enemy to turn back after a sharp battle at Perryville (October, 1862); but they carried off an immense amount of plunder to swell the Confederacy's depleted supplies.

Late in December, Bragg attempted to advance again through central Tennessee, and a four days' conflict, as huge and bloody as Shiloh, was fought at Murfreesboro (December 30, 1862–January 2, 1863). The Union forces under General Rosecrans were saved from defeat only by the splendid steadiness of the troops under Generals Sheridan and Thomas. In the end it was a drawn battle; but Bragg retreated to Chattanooga, abandoning almost all Tennessee to the Union forces. It was never again occupied by the Confederates.

Valuable as these Union successes were, they must be regarded as subordinate. The chief armies of both contestants were in Virginia, and it was there that the main struggle remained to be fought. General McClellan took nearly a year to organize his troops. The President and the public waited with patience while month after month slipped by; for Bull Run had

taught them a bitter lesson. When, however, the autumn of 1861 drifted into winter, and 1862 began, Lincoln voiced a widespread sentiment in his quaint sarcasm that, if General McClellan did not want to use the army, he would like to borrow it.

Finally, in April, 1862, McClellan, having shifted the main body of his troops to the mouth of the James and York Rivers, began advancing up the course of those streams against Richmond, crossing the historic region of Yorktown and Jamestown. This method of attack, instead of a direct forward movement from Washington, had not been at all favored by the government officials, who felt that Washington was left too exposed. Indeed, they insisted on retaining a very considerable number of the brigades for the capital's defence. To the lack of these, McClellan always attributed the failure of his campaign. Other writers have asserted that he was too cautious, that he constantly overestimated his foes, and that he was out-manceuvred from the start. He had against him the three ablest commanders of the Confederacy. General Joseph E. Johnston, who had turned the tide of battle at Bull Run, led the Southern troops, and was succeeded by Robert E. Lee, esteemed one of the military geniuses of the world. For lieutenant they had "Stonewall" Jackson, who had won his nickname by the steadiness of his troops at Bull Run. He kept moving swiftly back and forth in the Shenandoah Valley, constantly menacing Washington and thus checking McClellan's needed reinforcements, yet always ready to move his "foot cavalry" to help in the defence of Richmond. He came remarkably near to accomplishing the impossible and being in two places at once.

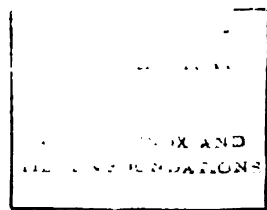
McClellan's advance was slow. The Confederates delayed him for over a month at Yorktown; but by May 31, he had pushed to within a dozen miles of Richmond. Then Johnston attacked him at Fair Oaks in a fierce but indecisive battle. Johnston was badly wounded, and Lee assumed command. With Jackson's help he began a series of attacks upon McClellan, broke his line of supplies and forced him to retreat from Richmond and fall back along the James River.

The fierce daily battles continued for an entire week, from June 26 to July 2, and closed at Malvern Hill, where the Southerners, in a last attempt to duplicate the rout of Bull Run, threw themselves with utter recklessness upon the strongly posted Federal lines, and were mowed down in masses. The Union forces under McClellan in this campaign exceeded a hundred thousand men; the Confederates had about eighty thousand in all. The Unionists lost over fifteen thousand, the Confederates even more; but they saved their capital.

Lee again sent Jackson to threaten Washington, and despite McClellan's protests, his army was recalled by the government for its defense. Then Lee



THE UNION ADVANCE THROUGH THE WOODS AT ANTIETAM



began a determined advance. He defeated McClellan's successor, General Pope, in the tremendous second battle of Bull Run, and pushed on into Maryland, capturing the arsenal at Harper's Ferry with its eleven thousand defenders upon the way.

At last the Southerners were upon Northern soil. Their ragged, barefoot army was not sixty thousand strong, but the men were a marvellous body of fighters, and they had implicit confidence in their general. McClellan, who at least had not suffered such disaster as Pope, was hastily restored to the command, and he met Lee at Antietam Creek (September 17, 1862). This was the bloodiest single day's fighting of the war. One marvels at the unspeakable heroism of both sides; men charged into the face of certain death; whole regiments were mowed down and lay in ghastly rows amid the cornfields. Both sides ceased fighting at nightfall, not beaten, but too exhausted to continue the struggle.

Lee had lost over a quarter of his army. Whatever force he had brought into Maryland, he had now not over forty thousand men, and he saw that further advance was impossible. Accordingly he withdrew into Virginia, and left the victory with McClellan. Lincoln urged his general not to let Lee escape; but the cautious McClellan, though commanding a hundred thousand men, declined pursuit. The President, after six weeks of urging, finally lost all patience and removed him from command.

General Burnside was appointed to succeed McClellan, and promptly advanced into Virginia. Lee was so strongly entrenched at Fredericksburg that Burnside's ablest commanders protested against an attack; but their chief insisted, and sacrificed thirteen thousand gallant troops by hurling them in repeated hopeless assaults against an impregnable position (December 13, 1862). No man ever questioned the heroism of Northern troops after the "Horror of Fredericksburg." It ended Burnside's leadership of the Army of the Potomac.

Thus at the close of 1862, after nearly two years of warfare, the end seemed to most men as distant as ever. The North was gradually tightening its grip upon the Southern coast line; but Vicksburg held Grant at bay, Bragg was defying Rosecrans in the Middle West, and Lee was guarding Richmond. Though driven back from invasion at Antietam, he had defeated every general sent against him, repelling McClellan's advance, completely defeating Pope, and then giving to Burnside the most crushing blow of all.

A strong public feeling against the war began to manifest itself in portions of the North. Lincoln was called "a tyrant," and the war "wicked murder." The sad lines in his gaunt, kind face grew ever more deeply graven with the report of each new disaster, his stooping shoulders bowed as with the weight of all the nation. If war be ever justifiable, he felt that he had been right in

undertaking this one. The entire nation had upheld him at the start ; and though no man had foreseen the appalling magnitude of the slaughter to come, yet even now the mass of the people would not have had the President take a single step backward.

He had indeed exercised an almost unbounded power. As commander-in-chief of the army, he had placed the entire country under military law, and his soldiers stood ready to arrest whomsoever he bade, North or South. But he was upheld at every step by a representative Congress, and no man, looking into Lincoln's face, had ever really feared that he would wield one jot of his enormous authority for selfish ends. The necessities of the struggle might make him override all law ; but he had a heart and brain that needed nothing of the law's restraint.

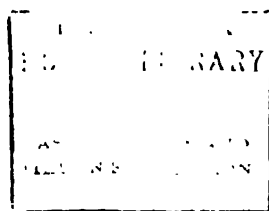
Instead of wavering, Lincoln now took the final step that changed the whole aspect of the contest and raised it to another, perhaps even nobler, plane. At his inauguration, he had declared the Constitution gave him no right to liberate the slaves ; but as commander-in-chief fighting an enemy, he was authorized to do whatever would most injure the foe. So, immediately after Lee's retreat from Antietam, the President announced that, at the end of the year, he would declare the negroes free in every district which still continued in rebellion. Following up this warning, on January 1, 1863, he issued the famous "Emancipation Proclamation." After that there was no fear of foreign nations recognizing the Confederacy. Even Russia had freed its serfs in 1861, and the South was the one civilized region in the world that clung to slavery.

Note, however, that the President's proclamation was only directed against the rebel States. It did not affect the slaves of the border States. These soon bowed to the popular feeling. Maryland and Missouri both abolished slavery within their borders in 1864. Tennessee, where a Union government had been re-established, did the same in 1865 ; and then came the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, forever prohibiting throughout our country the long-standing evil which had disgraced its fame.





SIGNING THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION





THE RUINS OF RICHMOND

Chapter XX

THE REBELLION—TRIUMPH OF THE UNION

[*Authorities* : The same as in the preceding chapter, with Nichols, "Story of the Great March"; W. T. Sherman, "Memoirs."]]



RESIDENT LINCOLN'S Emancipation Proclamation did not bring to the Union cause the immediate success which we of to-day feel that it deserved. On the contrary, the first half of 1863 was the gloomiest period of the war. The South protested against our employment of negro troops, with the same outcry that the colonists had once raised at the letting loose of Indians against them. Threats were made to hang every Union officer found leading the blacks.

Moreover, the Democratic party in the North began to gather strength, as a protest against the way the government was exceeding its Constitutional powers. In some places the cry was raised, that the awful slaughter must be stopped at any cost. The most enthusiastic upholders of the war had entered its armies, and many of them lay dead upon its battlefields; while its opponents still remained in undiminished numbers at home. The elections of 1862 had already indicated that the support of the Republicans was waning; and in the spring of 1863, when the President called again for volunteers, very few responded.

In some sections it was necessary to resort to "drafting." That is, the names of all the able-bodied men in the district were put in a box, the required number were then drawn out, and the men so selected were compelled to enter

the army, or else purchase substitutes. This measure was strictly within the President's power, yet naturally it intensified the ill-feeling.

In New York a mob rose in resistance to the draft, and for four tragic July days held possession of the American metropolis. It destroyed the drafting places, plundered stores, hanged negroes on sight, and fought pitched battles with the police. The tumult was not suppressed until government soldiers were called in, and over twelve hundred people, mostly rioters, were slain. The uprising reflected on the party whose protests were thought to have encouraged it; and the Democrats lost what little political success they had gained.

Meanwhile, affairs had seemed equally unpromising on the field of war. Grant was still beaten back from Vicksburg, Rosecrans lay idle before Bragg at Chattanooga. In Virginia, after the "Horror of Fredericksburg," the unfortunate "Army of the Potomac" received yet a fourth commander in General Hooker. He essayed another attack on Lee, and was repulsed in a tremendous battle, at Chancellorsville (May, 1863).

Having thus twice beaten back the hosts of the North, Lee was urged by the Confederate government to make a second attempt at invasion. Against his better judgment he obeyed orders, and with an army reinforced to the greatest strength it ever reached, about eighty thousand men, he swept suddenly across Virginia into Maryland, and thence onward into Pennsylvania. The Army of the Potomac moved hurriedly after him. The militia of Pennsylvania and New York were summoned in alarm. General Hooker was exasperated by government interference with his plans, and resigned his command. General Meade replaced him. Everything was in confusion.

Then came the turning of the tide. The two armies met at Gettysburg in Pennsylvania and fought the decisive battle of the war. The Union forces slightly, but only slightly, outnumbered their opponents. Each army was seeking the other, and the advance guards met just west of the town of Gettysburg, July 1, 1863.

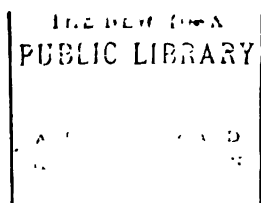
In the first day's struggle, the Unionists were compelled to retreat; but this was a mere preliminary. As the Northern regiments hurried toward Gettysburg, General Hancock, Meade's second in command, placed them in a strong natural position along a line of hills, "Cemetery Ridge," south and east of Gettysburg. Here the great battle of the second day was fought, the Confederates attacking, while the Union forces, for once upon the defensive, repelled their foes with desperate valor. The Union lines were forced slowly back by the repeated and gallant charges; but they only retreated to stronger positions and continued fighting. Nightfall did indeed see the extreme left of the Confederates in possession of a portion of the crest of the ridge; but a determined Northern charge recovered this early in the morning of the third day.



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GETTYSBURG

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That third day found the mighty struggle still unfinished. The ghastly dead lay upon the field in uncounted thousands, but the living still fought on, unterrified and unsubdued. Lee suffered awful losses; but he seems to have felt that the one chance for the success of his cause hung upon gaining a decisive victory at Gettysburg. His decimated forces were gathered in the shelter of another ridge about a mile west of the Union lines. Across the valley between, a mammoth artillery duel was kept up during most of July 3. Gradually the Northern cannoneers ceased firing, and Lee seized the momentary lull for a final supreme effort.

A massive column of men, fifteen thousand strong, under General Pickett, rushed forward from the Confederate lines to hurl themselves upon the Union batteries. Before they were half way across the intervening valley, a well-directed storm of shot and shell, an immeasurable hurricane of death, burst upon them in all its fury. They fell by regiments, by whole brigades. Yet the remnant struggled on until they reached the Northern lines. Our excited soldiers burst from their ranks, and rushed from all parts of the field to meet the assault. Every man felt that the fate of the nation depended on the issue.

No poor battered fragment could stand against such numbers and such spirit. The Southerners fell back; Pickett's charge was broken; the Confederacy was defeated. The extreme point attained by that tremendous assault is commemorated by a monument erected upon Cemetery Ridge, "the high-water mark of the Rebellion," the farthest spot it reached upon Union soil.

The following day (July 4) Lee retreated, to save the remnant of his army. He had lost almost thirty thousand men, and the Northern loss had been wellnigh as heavy. Gettysburg was one of the mightiest battles in history, and the honor of it belongs not to its generals, but to the men who fought upon either side, and who stood ready to continue fighting till the last hero fell. Only Lee's recognition of the hopelessness of the attack, prevented the slaughter from continuing through further days. He was not pursued. General Meade was only too thankful to see him gone, and took a breathing spell to reorganize and recuperate his broken regiments.

The very day of Lee's retreat brought also the news of the surrender of Vicksburg. Grant finally managed to fight his way to the rear of the city, threw his forces between two divisions of the defensive army, and shut up the main portion within the fortifications of Vicksburg. At first his army was no stronger than that of the Confederates, and he entrenched himself in fear of an attack. But gradually reinforcements made his position impregnable, and the Southerners outside the city were compelled to abandon those within to their fate. The Union forces advanced their attacking lines from one earthwork to

another, ever nearer to the doomed city. It was constantly bombarded, and at last, after seven weeks of close siege and scanty rations, the garrison of thirty thousand men surrendered (July 4, 1863).

This was an even greater triumph for Grant than the capture of Fort Donelson. Not only had he taken prisoner an enormous army; he had opened the Mississippi to the Union gunboats. The towns around Vicksburg promptly surrendered, it was the last stronghold on the river's banks, and the "backbone of the Confederacy" was completely in the possession of the Northern forces. The victory thus separated Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas, from the other rebel States. Texas had been their main source of supplies; for while the Northern navy was gradually closing their ports, they could secure almost everything they needed from across the Mexican border line.

Thus, July 4, 1863, ought to have ended the Rebellion, as it ended all hope of its successful issue. But with a heroism worthy of a better cause, the South fought on. Already she had summoned every able-bodied man to the front. A military dictatorship far more absolute than in the North, had compelled her citizens to enlist. During Grant's operations around Vicksburg, a force of Union cavalry under Colonel Grierson rode without opposition through the entire State of Mississippi. After the raid, Grierson reported the Confederacy to be an empty shell; its forces were all upon the border fighting line; within there was no one left but women, children, and slaves.

As Bragg's army in the Middle West was the only one remaining undefeated, the Confederate government centred its hopes upon him and urged him to advance against Rosecrans. He was heavily reinforced, and attacked Rosecrans not far from Chattanooga, on the borders of a little stream called by the Indian name of Chickamauga, or "River of Death" (September 19, 1863). It was another of those hideous scenes of carnage, seventy thousand Confederates fighting fifty thousand Unionists, with the loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners exceeding sixteen thousand on each side.

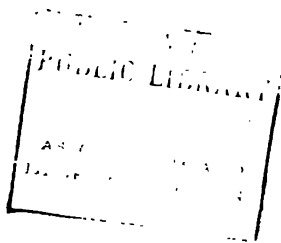
Rosecrans was completely defeated; but while he galloped away to telegraph the news, General George Thomas, commanding one division of the army, stood firm amid the flight, and repulsed every furious charge of the gathering enemy. Thus he enabled Rosecrans to rally his forces at Chattanooga, whither Thomas then retreated in good order, facing his foes at every step. The men of the army enthusiastically nicknamed Thomas the "Rock of Chickamauga," and he superseded Rosecrans in the command of the forces he had saved. At the same time, Grant was given command of the entire West, and was ordered to hurry to Chattanooga and save Thomas, whom Bragg besieged there, and who was in danger of starvation. To Grant's telegram bidding him hold out as long as possible, Thomas answered grimly, "I will hold out till we starve."



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THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG

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Grant hurried to this sturdy lieutenant's aid with such troops as he could hastily gather. A corps was also despatched to his assistance from the Army of the Potomac under General Hooker. With the combined forces Grant attacked Bragg in the battles of Chattanooga (November 24, 25, 1863).

On the first day Hooker was sent to threaten a division of the enemy, which was perched high upon Lookout Mountain overtopping the city. Hooker saw that his troops were hidden from observation by the fog and drizzling rain, and he led them directly up the mountain side, cleared away the obstructions that had been meant to stop a charge, came suddenly upon the enemy at the mountain top, and drove them headlong from their defences. This was the celebrated "battle above the clouds."

The next day Thomas' men were sent to charge the Confederate outworks at the foot of "Missionary Ridge." This mountain held upon its crest the main line of the Confederate defence; but the assailants, anxious to prove themselves equal to their Potomac comrades, did not, as their generals had planned, stop with capturing the outworks. They rushed on after the fleeing defenders, and stormed the second line of entrenchments half way up the hill. Then, still upon the heels of the mass of fugitives, protected by them from the fire of the cannon, the Union troops swept on, up the ridge, and captured the batteries upon its summit. Bragg's entire army was sent flying in utter rout. These two actions are considered the most brilliantly successful of the war, though their very success rendered them far less bloody than many others. Taking them in conjunction with Gettysburg and Vicksburg, we may say that the latter half of 1863 saw the breakdown of the Confederacy.

Gradually the stronger generals of the North were being distinguished from among those who, however admirable in other respects, were for some reason, unable to "command success." Lincoln, watching with worn and eager eyes, declared that wherever Grant was "things moved." Early in 1864 the President revived the high grade of "Lieutenant General" of the entire army, which Washington had been the last to hold; and the rank was conferred upon Grant. He was to be in supreme command of all military operations, subject only to the President.

Grant went East to take personal command in Virginia. In the West he transferred his authority to the ablest of his lieutenants, the man who he declared had been the real victor at Shiloh, and who had been his leader's chief support at Vicksburg and at Chattanooga, William T. Sherman.

Thomas became Sherman's chief lieutenant; and the man who had been Thomas' main support, General Philip Sheridan, went East with Grant to become the most famous of our cavalry leaders. These four men carried the war to its close.

Two celebrated naval actions took place in 1864, which must be classed

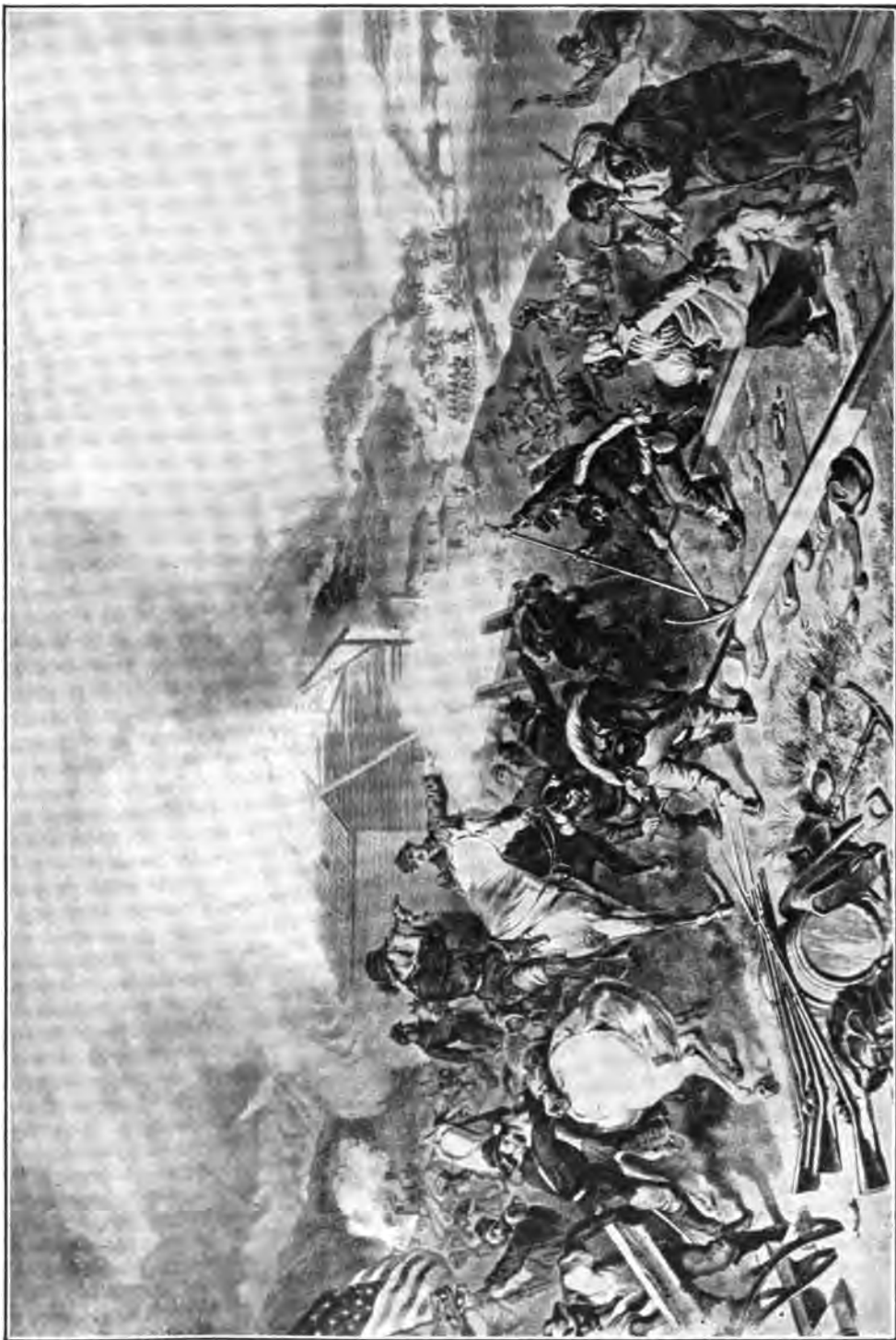
with the "Merrimac" fight and the capture of New Orleans, among the chief events of the war. In June, the Confederate privateer "Alabama" sailed out of a French harbor amid French and English cheers to attack the United States man-of-war "Kearsarge." The "Alabama" surrendered after a battle of about an hour, and then she sank.

This in itself was only a contest between single ships of about equal strength; but it ended the career of the most successful of the Southern privateers, which had driven our commerce from the ocean. The "Alabama" and similar ships had been built in England, and that country eventually had to pay us over fifteen million dollars for the injury her violation of international law had caused us. But, as our statesmen have bitterly remarked, the destruction of American shipping would have been cheap to our mercantile rivals at a far greater price. England's attitude in this matter is the one thing which our people have not forgiven her, perhaps cannot forgive.

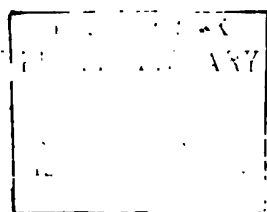
On August 5, 1864, Admiral Farragut forced his way into Mobile Bay, and won Mobile, the metropolis of Alabama, in much the same way as he had captured New Orleans; only now he had ironclad monitors to aid the attack. One of these was blown up by a torpedo, but the Admiral himself pushed ahead in his old wooden flagship, the "Hartford," and passed in safety over the torpedo region. Once past the forts at the entrance of the harbor, the Union ships made short work of the rebel fleet within, except for the great ram "Tennessee." Farragut, lashed to the rigging of the "Hartford," dashed at her at full speed. The other ships did the same, butting her till their wooden prows were all in splinters—but with very little effect upon the iron hide of the monster. Even the great guns of the monitors seemed for a time to make no impression upon the formidable craft. But the men within the impenetrable armor were so battered that they finally surrendered. The "Tennessee" was the most powerful fighting machine that had yet been constructed in the world.

Meanwhile, the huge land campaigns of 1864 had begun. Grant directed Sherman to advance in the West simultaneously with his own forward movement in Virginia, so that the generals opposing them could not reinforce each other. It was planned that Sherman should penetrate into Georgia, the richest State of the Confederacy, and as yet untrampled by the destroying heel of war. Accordingly, he set out from Chattanooga (May 5, 1864) to undertake the capture of Atlanta, the metropolis of Central Georgia, the chief manufactory of the Confederate military supplies.

General Joseph Johnston, the leader who had been wounded in McClellan's campaign against Richmond, and who was by many accounted as able a strategist as Lee, was appointed to command the Confederates in the West. He recuperated Bragg's damaged army to a fighting strength of nearly fifty thou-



SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA



sand men, but Sherman's force was almost twice as heavy, and he slowly manœuvred Johnston backward. The campaign was one long shifting battle, a masterpiece of military science upon both sides. Johnston was constantly outmatched and compelled to fall back, until Atlanta was in evident danger. He would not even assure the Confederate government that he could save the city; and so he was removed from command and General Hood was appointed to succeed him. Hood was expected to fight, and did so, hurling his troops in repeated, reckless attacks upon the Union lines. He was outgeneraled at every point, lost thousands of his best men, and had at last to flee from Atlanta to avoid being cooped up there and starved. Sherman entered the city September 2, 1864.

Hood now abandoned all hope of defending Georgia, and attempted to draw Sherman out of the State by himself reinvading Tennessee. Instead of following, Sherman urged upon Grant and Lincoln the decisive step which did so much toward ending the war. He proposed to divide his army, and leave part of it under Thomas to act on the defensive in checking Hood, while he himself cut loose from the North and from all supplies, and marched straight through the heart of the Confederacy, depending on the country for support, and utterly destroying its resources for the future.

Sherman did not easily gain his superiors' consent to this novel and daring proposition, but they yielded to him at last. Hood was allowed to march unopposed through Tennessee, until finally he encountered Thomas at Nashville. Thomas made slow and thorough preparations, and when fully ready marched out against Hood and defeated him so completely that the Southern army was scattered in a mass of fugitives never to be regathered (December 15, 1864). Nashville was the last battle in the West.

Sherman left Atlanta on his famous "March to the Sea," November 15. For a month the North heard no more of him than if he had been swallowed by an earthquake. As he had expected, he found there was no enemy to oppose him. The march was like a great picnic to his men, who foraged in the fields and storehouses, lived on farm-produce, and sang "John Brown" and "Marching through Georgia," as they advanced. The widely separated columns covered a swath of territory sixty miles broad, and within this they destroyed all railroads, all public property, everything that could be made useful by the enemies of the Union. The ignorant negroes flocked after them in thousands, expecting to be taken to freedom. The Northern army thus reached the sea more numerous than it had left Atlanta, and Sherman easily captured Savannah, its defenders taking to flight (December 21, 1864). Sherman sent word to the President by the Northern ships in the harbor, "I beg to present you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah."

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WILDERNESS

After a few weeks to reorganize, Sherman once more plunged into the enemy's country and moved northward through the heart of South and North Carolina. This enterprise, though less spectacular, was really more dangerous than the other. Numerous flooded rivers had to be crossed, and fevered swamps. The Confederates once more put Johnston in command, and managed to place some thirty thousand men under him. With these he menaced, thwarted, and delayed Sherman, but could not stop him; and the secessionists of Carolina were taught, as those of Georgia had been, what war really meant. The famous march ended at Goldsboro, in North Carolina, where the Union troops were once more in communication with the sea.

In Virginia, Grant had assumed personal control in the spring of 1864. This cool, imperturbable Westerner, always short, sharp, and emphatic, always smoking or chewing on the end of a cigar, found little favor except with his soldiers. These accepted him from the start, and followed him unhesitatingly to death. Grant advanced against Lee (May 4, 1864) and began his famous "hammering campaign," so called from his declaration that the only way to reach Richmond, was just to keep hammering away until he got there. He meant to use to the full his advantage in numbers, and refused to exchange prisoners. It was unfair to his troops, he said, to put men they had once captured, back into the field to fight them over again. Northern soldiers returning from Southern prisons were notoriously unfitted for further fighting, broken by privation and disease. So Grant decreed that they must remain in their captivity, saying that if they died, they were as truly martyrs to their country as those who fell in battle. Andersonville and the other prison pens of the South became scenes of pitiable suffering, but there is no question that the general's stern course shortened the rebellion.

The first battle between Grant and Lee was fought in "the Wilderness," a vast and gloomy forest lying in the central part of Virginia on the road to Richmond. Here for two days (May 5, 6) division charged against division amid the semi-darkness. The woods caught fire, and unknown numbers of the wounded were burned to death where they had fallen.

Neither side can be said to have won the battle, nor indeed any of the battles of this terrible campaign. Like Sherman's advance on Atlanta, it was a continuous retreating fight, in which Lee's army of perhaps seventy thousand was constantly outflanked by Grant's hundred and twenty thousand, and compelled to fall back, to escape being surrounded and starved. When two bodies of men have reached that pitch of heroism in which they display an utter scorn of death, and rush into battle as into a boyish game, retreating only because their officers command it—when such armies meet under able generals, there can be but one issue. The stronger force must ultimately



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GRANT DIRECTING THE UNION ADVANCE THROUGH THE WILDERNESS

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SEX AND
EDUCATION

win. Grant was not to be surprised, not to be turned back. When, after the Battle of the Wilderness he recommenced his slow advance, endeavoring constantly to get between the Confederates and Richmond, Lee said despairingly, "The Army of the Potomac has found a master at last."

The two forces clashed again at Spottsylvania Court House, and fought there day after day. Sheridan led his cavalry in a dashing raid completely round the enemy, disrupting their supply lines, and even capturing some of the intrenchments of Richmond; but his force was too small to attack the main defences of the Southern capital.

At last, by June 3, the entire Union army was at Cold Harbor, within ten miles of their goal, almost at the very point that McClellan had reached two years before. Grant ordered a tremendous attack on the enemy's entrenchments, lost ten thousand men in twenty minutes, and concluded that the defenses were impregnable. He always regretted this tragical assault, and declared it the greatest blunder of his career. In this advance upon Richmond he had lost fifty thousand men, and except for Cold Harbor, the Confederates' loss had been as heavy. Both sides were constantly reinforced.

By a brilliant series of movements, Grant now shifted his armies almost half way round Richmond, crossing the James River on which it lay, and getting to the southeast of the city, where he could threaten its supplies. Here he began the siege of Petersburg, which had been so fortified that it was the key to Richmond in that direction, and was thus the last stronghold of the Confederacy.

On July 30 a vast mine was exploded under one portion of the Petersburg fortifications, and into the gap thus formed a Union charging column rushed to storm the forts. But after descending into the "crater" or hole their mine had made, the troops found no one to lead them up its other side. They did not seem to know just what they were expected to do, and remained in the crater, while the foe rallied and began pouring shot and shell into the close-packed human mass. Four thousand men perished there defenseless, and the remnant scrambled back to safety as best they could.

After this disaster Grant settled down to a slow and regular siege, which lasted through the entire fall and winter. In the hope of compelling his withdrawal, Lee despatched General Early with a strong body of troops to pass northward down the Shenandoah valley and threaten Washington. Early came very near capturing the capital, and its inhabitants were thrown into great alarm. Troops from Grant's lines arrived just in time to defend the city, and Early went off marauding in Pennsylvania. Sheridan was put in command of the Union forces in the neighborhood, and he drove Early slowly back up the Shenandoah, fighting repeated battles. The Union army was then marched

back down the valley toward Washington, destroying every eatable thing upon the route, so that it was said that even a carrion crow could not fly through the valley unless he carried his provisions with him. Sheridan meant that there should be no more Confederate raids on Washington.

Early followed the Unionists, and attacked their forces for the last time at Cedar Creek, while their commander was away on a trip to Washington. This was the occasion of Sheridan's famous ride. He was at Winchester on his return, when he heard the sound of firing, and galloped forward, meeting his beaten troops retreating along the road. He turned them back with fiery words, checked the rush of the victorious foe, led his men in a return charge, and swept the beaten enemy from the field. That ended the Shenandoah campaign, and made Sheridan perhaps the most spectacular figure of the war.

The muddy roads rendered aggressive operations against Petersburg impossible through the winter, and it was not until the end of March, 1865, that Grant resumed his attacks. Meanwhile, Sherman had practically destroyed the Confederacy to the southward, and Lee could no longer get supplies. He saw that it was impossible to continue holding Richmond, and he soon yielded before the vigorous Union assault. On April 3, he abandoned both Petersburg and Richmond, and retreated westward with his army. Grant followed him with all haste. There was another long, running fight, and the remnant of the weary, starving Confederates surrendered to their indomitable pursuer, April 9, 1865. President Davis sought to persuade Lee to yet further resistance; but Lee turned on him angrily and refused to continue the now hopeless and useless loss of life. Davis fled southward. He was captured in Georgia and was kept in prison for a couple of years, but was never tried for treason, and ultimately was granted his freedom.

General Johnston, on hearing of Lee's surrender, promptly yielded his own force to Sherman, and the war was over. It had lasted four years, had cost our nation, North and South, over a million lives and probably ten billion dollars, worth of property. But it had settled the slavery question forever, had decided that the Nation is supreme above the States, and had made our country an indestructible Union, to last as long as government endures among men. Probably at this moment the South is as thankful as the North that its misguided Confederacy came to naught.

Yet let us not too lightly declare that the results have been worth all the cost, until we have thought deeply of what that cost really meant to a million desolate wives and mothers, to an entire country beggared of its noblest blood, and until we are quite sure that we too stand ready to take our turn when the need comes, to lay down our lives and ruin our homes for the Faith, whatever it is, that we believe.



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SHERIDAN LEADING THE FINAL CHARGE AT CEDAR CREEK

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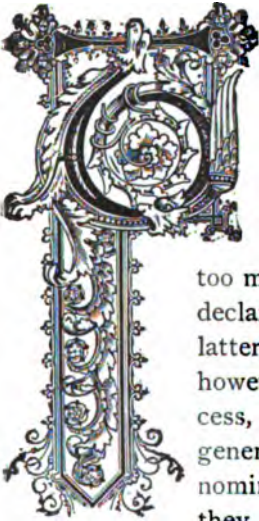


THE CHICAGO FIRE

Chapter XXI

RECONSTRUCTION

[*Authorities:* Burgess, "Reconstruction and the Constitution"; Landon, "Constitutional History"; A. Johnston, "American Politics"; McPherson, "Handbook of Politics"; Williams, "History of the Negro Race in America"; Badeau, "Grant in Peace"; Bigelow, "Life of Tilden"; Herbert, "Why the Solid South?"; McCulloch, "Men and Measures of Half a Century"; Baine, "Twenty Years of Congress."]



THE tremendous war was indeed over, but its true hero, the President, whose unfaltering faith had dominated the struggle from opening to close—he was to become its martyr.

There had been a presidential election in the fall of 1864, and two candidates were nominated against Lincoln, one by the radical Republicans, who thought him too mild toward the rebels, the other by the Democrats, who declared that the awful slaughter must stop at any cost. The latter chose General McClellan as their candidate. As soon, however, as there seemed any possibility of McClellan's success, the radical Republicans withdrew their candidate, and a general convention of Republicans and War-Democrats re-nominated Lincoln. To show their non-partisan intentions, they named for Vice-President a Southern War-Democrat, Andrew Johnson, the Union governor of Tennessee. Lincoln and Johnson were elected by an overwhelming vote, and Lincoln's second term had already begun, when Lee surrendered.

A few days after this final collapse of the Confederacy, President Lincoln was assassinated at Ford's Theatre in Washington. An actor, John Wilkes

Booth, a passionate and almost insane Southern sympathizer, slipped into the President's box and shot him from behind. Our martyr chieftain sank back unconscious and died the next morning (April 15, 1865).

One great wail of sorrow and indignation rose from the entire North. Booth fled, crying that the South was avenged. He was pursued and shot while resisting arrest. At the same time an assassin had burst into the sick-room of the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, wounded him seriously, and escaped. It was thought that traces of a plot were discovered, and several persons accused of complicity were hanged.

Had Booth only realized it, he had perpetrated the worst possible crime for his beloved South. President Lincoln was a moderate man, whose heart's desire lay in a speedy reunion of the severed sections. His plans for the reconstruction of the Southern States were already formed. Tennessee and the other conquered districts had been readmitted to statehood on terms surprisingly mild and generous. No man would have gainsaid the President in this policy; but his death hardened the temper of the North, and brought the more radical Republicans into control. Thereafter no such easy terms of reunion remained possible.

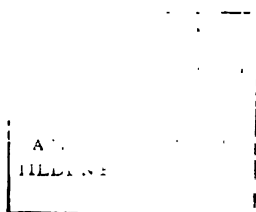
Moreover, the new President, Johnson, being a Democrat, was naturally mistrusted by the Republicans, and he found himself in the unhappy position that President Tyler had once occupied. He was a leader without a party. Johnson's rise from poverty offers perhaps the most extreme example of the possibilities of success under the American system. He was one of the "poor whites" of the South, an ignorant tailor who taught himself to read and was then taught by his wife to write and cipher. His vehement speeches made him a leader among the workmen of his district, and by them he was elected to one political position after another, serving with honor and fidelity; until at last he became United States Senator from Tennessee, the only one of the Southern Senators who clung with unwavering loyalty to the Union.

Unfortunately, Johnson carried into the presidency the same style of speech-making which had been successful among his ignorant constituents. Torrents of coarse insult and vehement abuse flowed from his lips, directed against everybody and everything opposed to him. Once at least during his vice-presidency, he was seen under the influence of liquor. These failings led to his being much distrusted, though no man now doubts that he was thoroughly honest and earnest, that he meant to give and did give to his country the best service that was in him.

President Johnson declared that he intended to follow out the dead chief's policy. During the eight months that intervened between Lincoln's death and the assembling of Congress in the following December, Johnson had everything



THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN



in his own hands, and he readmitted all the Southern States, only requiring their ratification of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting slavery.

Most of the readmitted States very unwisely proceeded to pass laws which so restrained and threatened the negroes, as practically to bring them very close to slavery again. This was the beginning of that unhappy "negro question," which is still a plague spot eating into the prosperity of the South. Southerners claimed that some restraint was absolutely necessary to prevent the ignorant and irresponsible blacks from ruining both themselves and their neighbors; and it is sadly true that ages of subjection had placed the mass of the slaves on a very low level of intelligence. But in these severe restrictive laws the North could only see a purpose to re-establish slavery and re-fight the whole bitter quarrel.

When Congress assembled, it refused to assent to the President's action, refused to admit the delegates from the South, overthrew the existent governments there, and divided the entire Confederacy except Tennessee into five military districts, under Northern generals. A fourteenth, and then a fifteenth, amendment was proposed to the Constitution, intended to prevent any legal discrimination between whites and blacks, and giving the negro the right to vote.

To secure these amendments it was necessary that three-fourths of the States should approve them; the North could not pass them alone. So the new military governors in the South were instructed to prepare lists of those who would be allowed to vote, including all negroes and excluding active participants in the Rebellion. These lists transferred elections almost wholly into the power of the blacks, who under Northern tutelage formed State governments of their own. The States thus reconstructed were recognized by Congress and, on passing the new Constitutional amendments, were once more admitted to a share in the National government. The last Southern members of Congress were not fully reinstated until 1870.

President Johnson protested vigorously against all this legislation, vetoing every act as it came before him. But the North was fully roused on the slavery question, and the elections gave such heavy and radical Republican majorities, that Congress had the necessary two-thirds vote to override Johnson's veto, and it passed laws without regard to him. He became little more than an angrily gesticulating figurehead, persistently pointing in the direction toward which the winds declined to blow.

Congress became wellnigh as angry as the President, and passed a law, now generally admitted to have exceeded its authority, which forbade him even to remove the members of his own cabinet. Johnson refused to recognize this law, and Congress impeached him (1868). The United States Senate is made sole judge on the trial of a President, and a two-thirds vote is necessary to convict

him. More than two-thirds of the Senate were Republican in this famous trial of Johnson, but some of the members refused to be carried away by party animosity. At the close of the proceedings, the vote for conviction was 35 to 19; that is, the changing of just one Senator's verdict would have ejected our President from his high position. Unsatisfactory as his rule may have been in some respects, we are all thankful to-day that the attack upon him failed.

At least two measures of his administration, outside of the overshadowing reconstruction question, were both important and successful. During the Civil War the French Emperor, Napoleon III., had set up an empire in Mexico under the Austrian prince, Maximilian. Johnson, by insisting on the Monroe doctrine, and by offering United States troops to aid the Mexican opposition, compelled the withdrawal of the French forces, whereon the Mexicans seized their Austrian Emperor and shot him (1867). He died as he had lived, a brave man though a most unwise one.

In 1867 we purchased Alaska from Russia for \$7,200,000. This was mainly the project of Secretary Seward, "Seward's folly" as it was called, since men saw little value in the icy wastes. But Alaska has already proved incalculably more valuable to us than its purchase price.

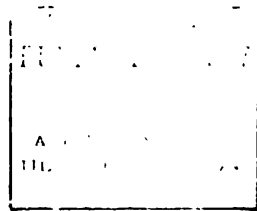
One other event of world-wide importance occurred during Johnson's presidency. This was the linking of Europe and America by the Atlantic cable. Mr. Field, a New York merchant, devoted his life and fortune to the enterprise, and laid a cable in 1858. After working for a few weeks, it broke. Undismayed, Field persisted in his labor, till the final successful cable was established in 1866. The system of ocean telegraphy has had an inestimable effect not only upon business, but upon all our foreign political associations, binding us more closely and harmoniously with Europe.

In the presidential election of 1868 the Republicans nominated General Grant as their candidate. His popularity and their control of the Southern negro governments enabled him to carry the country by an overwhelming majority. Although he ruled two terms (1869-1877), Grant was not so successful a President as he had been a general. He had none of the subtle keenness of the politician, and unscrupulous men turned his honest straightforwardness into many ill-advised measures.

The great question of his first administration was still the reconstruction of the South. The negro governments there had revelled in an era of shameful and unbridled corruption. Men came from the North with nothing, as their enemies said, but carpet-bags, that is with no property and no real interests in the South; and these "carpet-baggers," since they represented the Republican party, were all-powerful with the negroes. Many of the carpet-baggers were scoundrels, and by the aid of equally unprincipled negro lieutenants, they con-



A SOUTHERN LEGISLATURE IN THE "CARPET-BAGGER" DAYS



trolled the Southern governments and robbed the States of millions of dollars. A protest began to rise even in the North, where men declared that the whites were now being made slaves to the blacks. There was a general cry for the "enfranchisement of the whites." The restrictions upon the voting of former Confederates were gradually removed; but meanwhile the Southerners had taken matters into their own hands.

The Ku-klux was established, a secret organization for preventing the negroes from voting, or forcing them to vote as the white men wished. At first the Ku-klux only terrified the superstitious negroes by pretended supernatural warnings; but soon its methods were extended to bodily threats, then to the fulfilment of these, to whippings, maimings, and at last even to deliberate murder.

To meet this new danger, Congress passed "Force Acts" in 1870 and 1871, authorizing the use of United States troops to break the power of the Ku-klux. It was finally destroyed, or at least suppressed; and considering the extremes to which its members had gone, the better class of Southerners were not sorry to see it disappear, especially as it had largely accomplished its purpose. The whites were coming again into power, and though negro governments in the South controlled the presidential election of 1872, by the next one (1876) the whites' control was nearly everywhere restored, nor has it since been threatened. Southerners to-day say frankly that they do not and never will allow the black vote to determine their elections. They regret the necessity of breaking laws, but they have had one taste of negro domination, and are resolute never to have another.

Outside of this continued turmoil, the most important event during President Grant's first term was the completion of the great transcontinental railroad to the Pacific. The necessity of this had long been felt and its construction, largely aided by government help, was begun in 1864 and completed May 10, 1869, when the workmen from east and west met at Promontory Point in Utah, and the first through train was sent from New York to San Francisco. The Indian was deprived of his last stronghold; the vast plains of the Central West were thrown open to profitable and civilized settlement; the mineral wealth of the Rocky Mountains was made accessible; and soon Colorado and the other Western States came clamoring for admission to the mighty sisterhood of the Nation.

In the election of 1872 Grant's opponent was the famous Republican editor, Horace Greeley, who was nominated by the liberal members of his own party, sympathizers with the Southern whites, and who was then endorsed by the Democrats. Grant was easily victorious; but his second term was a time of misfortune to the Republicans. A period of industrial disaster swept over the

country. First came the great Chicago fire (1871), started, we are told, by a cow kicking over a lamp. The entire heart of the city was reduced to ashes, and the money loss exceeded two hundred million dollars. A year later another conflagration, only a little less enormous, destroyed a large part of the business section of Boston. These two terrible visitations resulted in the bankruptcy of many insurance companies; and the tragic business panic of 1873 soon followed from this and other causes. The country was years in recovering from the industrial depression.

The Republican party was blamed for the financial disasters, and at the same time corruption was found everywhere intruding itself into government, North as well as South. Republicans were not alone in this. The most conspicuous example of all was in New York City, where the "Tweed ring" so notoriously robbed the people, that at last all honest men rose against it without regard to party. Led by Samuel J. Tilden and others, they overthrew the ring and placed its leader in the State prison he deserved. Since, however, the Republican party was in most places in power, it was Republican corruption that came most markedly to notice, and the party lost heavily in popular respect. In 1874, the elections made the House of Representatives at Washington Democratic for the first time since before the war; and the presidential election of 1876 was the closest in the history of the country.

The Democrats nominated Mr. Tilden, the foe of the Tweed ring. His own State voted for him; so did three others in the North; while the newly established white governments in the South were solidly Democratic. In four States the election was disputed, three of these being Southern States where the old Republican governments still retained some show of power. If every one of the contested votes was counted against Tilden and in favor of his opponent, Rutherford B. Hayes, the latter would be elected by one vote.

Who was to decide upon the legality of the disputed elections, the Republican Senate or the Democratic House of Representatives? The Constitution said nothing upon this point. Excitement throughout the country ran high, and timid people began to tremble at the possibility of another civil war. Finally all parties agreed to submit the decision to an "Electoral Commission" of fifteen prominent men, five members of the Senate, five of the House, and five of the United States Supreme Court. When assembled, this Electoral Commission was found to consist of eight Republicans and seven Democrats; and by a strict party vote of eight to seven it awarded every contested vote to the Republican candidate.

The partisan character of the decision was unfortunate to say the least; and probably the majority of people believe to-day that Mr. Tilden was legally elected. A pleasanter side of the matter to look back upon, as measuring our



THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF 1876 IN SESSION

THE
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national character, is the quietude with which the result was accepted. All the threats of violence died away, and the country, North and South, acquiesced calmly in the decision of the tribunal it had selected.

With the Hayes-Tilden struggle, the reconstruction period may be considered closed. The next year (1877) President Hayes withdrew the last Northern troops from Louisiana and South Carolina; but the action by which his allies had secured his election in the South had destroyed all chance of further success for the Republican party in that region. The Southern States were fully restored to their Constitutional powers, they were under white domination, and they were Democratic through and through, the "Solid South."



ELECTION DAY IN NEW ORLEANS, 1876



THE GREAT PITTSBURG STRIKE OF 1877

Chapter XXII

A PERIOD OF PROGRESS

[*Authorities* : Andrews, "History of the Last Quarter of a Century"; Wilson, "Lives of the Presidents"; Wells, "Recent Economic Changes"; Lambert, "Progress of Civil Service Reform"; Wright, "Industrial Evolution of the United States"; John Sherman, "Recollections of Forty Years"; Cox, "Three Decades of Federal Legislation"; Schuyler, "American Diplomacy"; Whittle, "Life of Cleveland"; Carpenter, "America in Hawaii."]



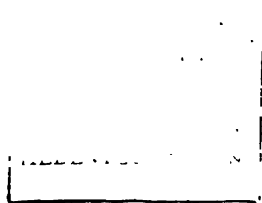
NEW period in American history, a time of almost unexampled prosperity and material progress, was opened by the year 1876, the centennial year of our Freedom. The days of "reconstruction" were over, and the South, freed from the long lethargy of slavery, began developing her vast natural resources, advancing in line with the energetic life of the rest of the nation. Old problems passed away to give place to new.

The latest, and presumably the last, serious uprising of our Indian wards culminated in 1876 among the Sioux tribe in Dakota. Gold had been discovered within their reservation, and reckless miners persisted in intruding. The Sioux grew restless, and finally took to the war path under their head "medicine man," or prophet, Sitting Bull. A couple of thousand United States troops were promptly sent to suppress them; but the army officials themselves failed to realize how widespread was the discontent.

The government forces divided into columns, and surrounded the Indians in the wild hill region, where they had taken refuge. One detachment of cavalry about five hundred strong was under Colonel Custer, or to give him the rank he had won among the volunteer forces of the Civil War, General Custer, one of



CUSTER'S LAST RIDE



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our most dashing cavalry officers, big, blond, handsome, young and daring, the beau ideal of the soldier.

Custer separated his command into halves; and the other section of it under Major Reno was the first to come upon the Indian camp in the "Little Big Horn" valley (June 25, 1876). Reno attacked, but the redmen came against him in such swarms, that he and his men retreated hastily, until they reached a position so strong that the enemy withdrew without assailing it.

Meanwhile, Custer's little band of two hundred and fifty came upon the camp from the other end. They had expected to encounter perhaps five hundred Indians. Instead, two or three thousand of the warriors, flushed with victory over Reno, came charging down upon them with most un-Indian recklessness. It was too late to turn back, and Custer met the rush as best he could. Not a man of his command survived to tell the tale of that fight. The Indians say that they swept right over the line in that first charge, and then rode in a narrowing circle around the remnant, whose ammunition was soon exhausted. It was all over in half an hour. Custer, the redskins tell us, was the last to fall.

Then the triumphant warriors returned to the attack on Reno, but he managed to hold them at bay, until the other United States troops came hurrying to the valley. The Indians scattered in little bands; many of them surrendered; and the uprising was gradually suppressed.

The year of 1876 saw, also, the Centennial International Exhibition at Philadelphia, which proved so successful and so helpful to the city's progress that we have since had a steady succession of these impressive fairs. The greatest was held at Chicago in 1892, and the most recent is that of St. Louis, in celebration of the Louisiana purchase.

These exhibitions have served to emphasize the fact that we have indeed entered upon an industrial age, an era in which the problems of peace are more puzzling than those of war. The relations of capital and labor, of rich and poor, have become the important issues of the day. The first of our great labor strikes occurred in 1877, when the railroad employees over almost all the country revolted against a reduction of wages. There was much rioting, burning of property, and loss of life. The State militias could not suppress the law-breaking, and it became necessary to call out United States troops, especially at Pittsburg, the chief centre of the strife. In its immediate purpose, the strike was a failure. Wages were reduced, and many of the revolting workmen lost their positions; but the attention of the entire world was drawn to the labor question. Strikes have since been frequent, and wherever justified, they have had warm popular support. Often they have been successful, and the condition of the laboring classes to-day is certainly much more prosperous than before 1877.

President Hayes (1877-81), despite the shadow resting on his election, proved a most satisfactory ruler to moderate men. He put aside all selfish ambition for a second term, and devoted himself to giving the country a wise and generous government. He withdrew the military forces from the South, though many politicians of his party would have had them stay. We have said that corruption had been to some extent revealed, and to a far wider degree suspected, under the previous administration. Hayes set himself so firmly against every evil of the kind that the Republicans came to the next presidential election quite rehabilitated in the eyes of the public.

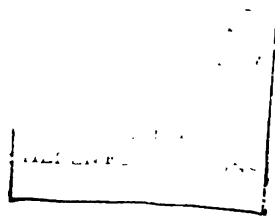
There were no new issues prominent in the campaign; those that were arising were yet too young. The Republicans asked support on the strength of their splendid war record. They had a tremendous fight in their nominating convention; the "stalwarts," upholders of the old system of grabbing at all the spoils and keeping the Southern whites in subjection by force, urged General Grant for a third term. But they were finally defeated by the more moderate "half-breeds," who approved the ideas of President Hayes. The "half-breed" candidate, General James A. Garfield, was nominated, and by a close vote he defeated General Winfield Scott Hancock, his Democratic opponent. Hancock had been nominated simply on his record as a soldier. He had been the real director of the Union forces at Gettysburg, and was the most noted, most successful, and probably the most able among the generals who were never accorded separate commands. His troops idolized him, and his superior generals called him "the superb." But he was politically unknown; Southern Democratic dominance was still dreaded in the North; and the Democratic platform hardly differed from that of the better element which had secured control among the Republicans.

President Garfield (1881) had been in office but three months, when he was shot in the Washington railway station by a disappointed and half-crazed office seeker. The President lingered in deep suffering until the autumn, when he died. The murderer boasted that he had committed his crime to re-establish the "stalwart" Republicans in power, the Vice-President, Chester A. Arthur, of New York, having been nominated from that faction in hopes of healing the party breach. Instead, however, of restoring the spoils system, Garfield's death must be regarded as the real beginning of our "civil service," which has lifted so large a part of the public offices out of politics.

This system, which aims to determine by public examination the candidates best fitted for any office, and to appoint them without regard to their political doctrines, was first urged in 1865. President Lincoln saw the coming necessity of it when the hordes of office-seekers besieged him at the opening of his second term. President Grant had also approved the system, desiring some



LIEUTENANT PEARY IN GREENLAND



partial escape from the heavy responsibilities of universal appointment. Under his administration, the first civil service bill was passed by Congress, and George W. Curtis of New York, the chief advocate of the reform, was made its director. But members of Congress found their political powers so reduced by the loss of such appointments as they had controlled, that they supported the new system only under compulsion, and after a few years ventured to suppress the entire civil service organization by failing to vote any money for its expenses.

Gradually, however, the public voice became insistent for reform. President Garfield's murder came as an avowed culmination of the evils of the spoils system, and the most hardened politicians dared no longer resist the rising sentiment against it. The great Civil Service Act was passed by all parties united, January 6, 1883. President Arthur gladly approved and enforced it, and every President since has been heartily in its favor. Most of them have extended its scope. It relieves them of much of what had become the largest and hardest duty of the office, the rejection of the thousands of incapable but politically important office-seekers.

The general disapproval of the old political system and of the obtrusive way in which "bossism" continued to display itself in Republican politics, is usually regarded as the cause of the overthrow of the party in 1884. The Republicans nominated the most brilliant of their leaders, James G. Blaine, who as Speaker of the House of Representatives had wielded a power second only to that of the President. The Democrats chose as their candidate Grover Cleveland—a man almost unknown, who had never held a legislative office, but who as a leader in the fight for honest politics had been elected Sheriff and then Mayor of Buffalo, and after that Governor of New York. A standard-bearer who could carry New York State was just what the Democrats most desired, and they eagerly offered Cleveland the presidential nomination. Many "Independents" supported him because of his honorable record, and he carried New York by a very narrow margin, its millions of people giving him a plurality of about eleven hundred votes. By that margin he won the presidency.

It was almost like a revolution to have a Democrat in the chair which for twenty-four years had been filled by Republican nominees. Many Southerners visited Washington for the first time since the war, and their presence led conservative men to watch Cleveland with anxiety. He soon proved that the war issues were truly over. The Southerners had nothing important to demand, nor he to offer them. The mass of the people joyfully accepted this evidence that the results of the great struggle were fully accepted; and it has since been relegated to its true place of honor, as one of the mighty but dead issues of the past.

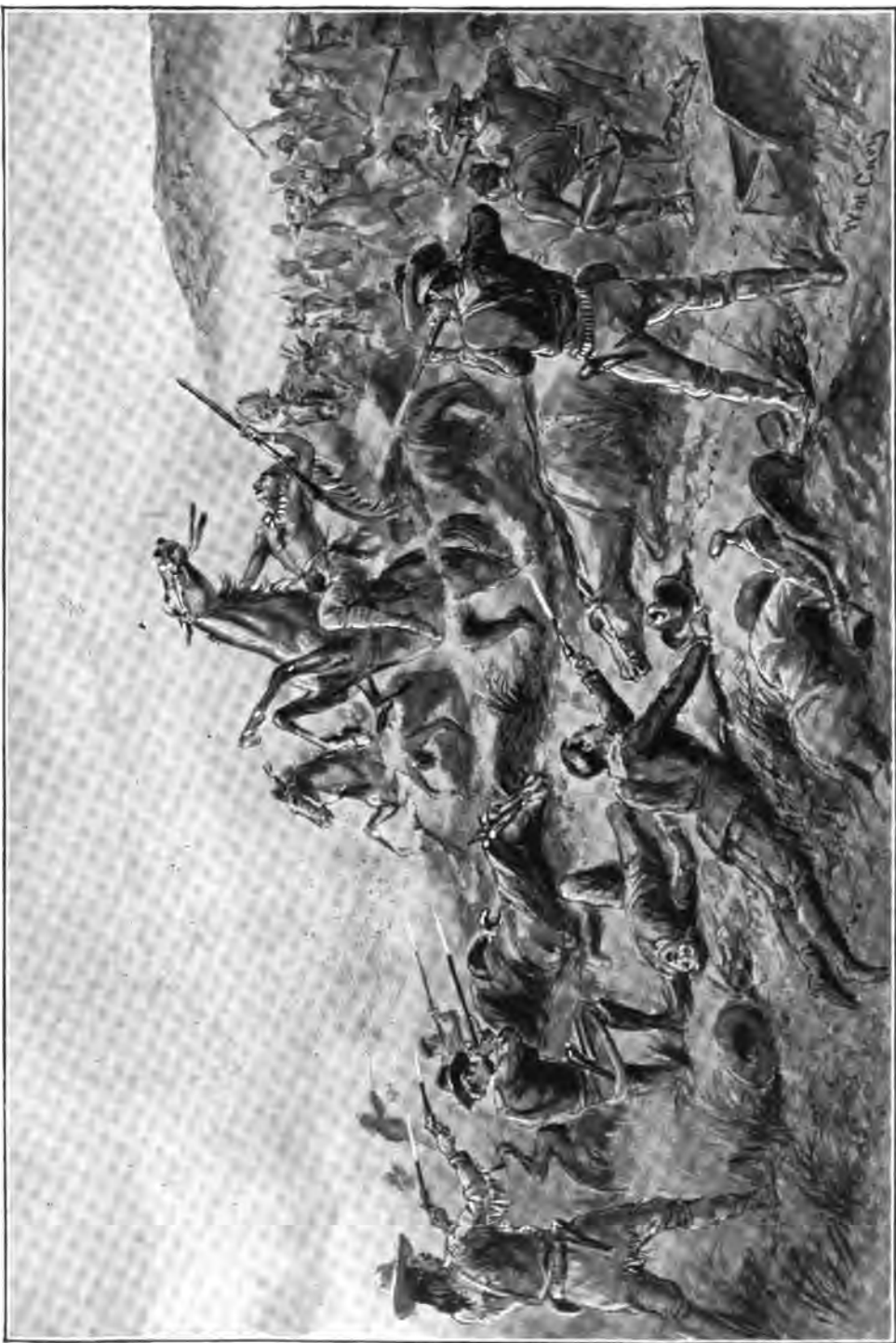
Men turned to the study of other and unsettled problems; and here, too, President Cleveland showed the way. He insisted that the Democrats should lower the heavy tariff on goods brought into the country from abroad. His party was not a unit in following him. On the whole, the Democracy had always rather favored a low tariff, while the Republicans were the descendants of Clay's "protective" or high-tariff Whigs. Yet the necessity for securing money for the war had compelled the nation to adopt very severe taxation in every direction, and under the high tariff thus enforced, the country had certainly prospered greatly. Some men said the result was due to the tariff, others that we would have been even more prosperous but for the tariff's harm.

President Cleveland, by forcing the Democracy to take a definite stand in the matter, created for the party new friends and new enemies. The election of 1888 turned upon the question. The campaign was termed one of "education," that is, both parties tried to make clear to the voters the true working of the intricate problem as viewed from a Democratic or a Republican standpoint. New York rejected Cleveland; and though his popular vote was considerably larger than that of his opponent he was defeated.

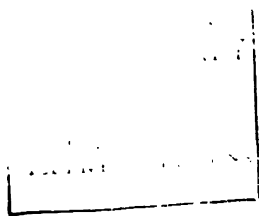
General Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, a grandson of the earlier President Harrison, was the successful Republican candidate, and his party resumed control at Washington for another four years (1889-1893). It admitted six of the Western Territories as States; and prepared the way for yet an additional member to the Union by dividing the Indian Territory in half, and throwing its western portion, Oklahoma, open for settlement. Fifty thousand people gathered on the borders of Oklahoma, awaiting the moment of the announcement permitting their entrance. Then they started, horse, foot, and wagon, in a wild rush to take possession of the choicest lots (April 22, 1889). The enormous "race of the fifty thousand" furnished a scene unique in story.

In 1891 Lieutenant Peary began his extensive series of Arctic explorations. He has demonstrated that Greenland is an island, and he has added in many valuable ways to our knowledge of the polar regions. In this year also, renewed trouble was feared with the Sioux Indians. It was quelled by sending several regiments of troops, who, under General Miles, surrounded the redmen and compelled them to give up their weapons. There was only one actual conflict, which occurred at Wounded Knee Creek, where about a hundred Indians were killed, many of them women.

The Republican party, accepting President Harrison's success as expressing the desire of the country for a high tariff, elevated the tax even above the existent war rates. On Mr. McKinley, a member of the House of Representatives from Ohio, devolved the difficult task of constructing a bill whose figures should



THE BATTLE OF WOUNDED KNEE CREEK



suit all parties. The one which he prepared was finally passed, and the "McKinley tariff" became the issue of the next campaign. President Harrison and ex-President Cleveland were once more the candidates, and this time Cleveland was successful by an overwhelming majority. In this election, the "Populist" party first appeared, demanding the free coinage of silver, government ownership of railroads, the seizure of land held by foreigners, and other measures of a radical nature. They carried several of the sparsely peopled western States.

President Cleveland's second term of office (1893-1897) was as exciting as his first had been quiet and conservative. There seemed no doubt that the country approved his low-tariff doctrines; but the first matter requiring attention was the currency. For some years our government had been endeavoring to keep both silver and gold money in circulation, although almost all European nations had practically abandoned silver. As a result, silver poured into this country; vast quantities of it were stacked in the treasury vaults; and gold almost disappeared. Despite all the silver purchases of our government, the value of that metal in the market steadily declined, since there were no other countries purchasing it to use as money. Moreover, foreign investors suspected that we might insist on paying our debts in silver instead of gold, and they began withdrawing their capital from America.

There had been no doubt as to President Cleveland's attitude on the silver question. Before his election he had published a letter stating plainly what he thought of any attempt to continue issuing the "cheap money." The financial depression had become so serious that he summoned a special session of Congress, and they voted by a large majority to stop the heavy coinage of silver in our mints. The President approved the bill, November 1, 1893.

The business unrest had amounted almost to a panic, and this certainly made the moment unfortunate for the Democrats to alter the tariff. Yet they felt pledged to do so by their election, and the "Wilson bill" was passed by the House of Representatives. In the slow-moving Senate many of the Democrats were still advocates of high protection, and they so changed the Wilson bill before allowing it to pass, that it scarcely reduced the tariff at all. The President, as a stamp of his disapproval, refused to sign it, letting it become a law without his signature. Another Democratic bill established a graduated income tax, but the Supreme Court declared this unconstitutional. Thus the Democrats stood discredited before the country as having failed in their promised reforms.

Two important foreign matters of the period were the Hawaii affair and the Venezuelan arbitration. There had been a rebellion in the Pacific islands of Hawaii. Americans, with the aid of United States forces, had seized control,

and having set up a government of their own, they applied for the admission of their domain to the Union. President Harrison contemplated welcoming them; but the matter had not reached a conclusion when President Cleveland came into office. He believed that the rebellion was not the work of the natives but only of a few American intruders, and he refused to recognize their action as representing the true voice of Hawaii. Thereon they declared the islands an independent republic.

In Venezuela, the British were disputing about a boundary, and after long and patiently trying to persuade them to an amicable settlement, Cleveland flashed out with his celebrated message to Congress (December, 1895), reasserting the Monroe Doctrine and threatening in no uncertain tones that if Great Britain refused Venezuela justice, we stood ready to fight for American rights.

In this matter, at least, he had the hearty approval of the mass of the nation, though business interests suffered from the fear of war. England yielded, and the Venezuela boundary was settled by an arbitration commission. Both England and the United States have since made repeated efforts to establish a general arbitration treaty, arranging for the settlement of all disputes that may arise between them, and thus preventing any future possibility of a war which, despite all our grievances, we must admit would be a war of kindred.

Through the antagonisms generated by all these different measures, President Cleveland found himself more and more at odds with many of his party. Westerners had deserted him on the silver question, Easterners on the tariff. Some patriots protested against his hauling down the flag at Hawaii, no matter how unjustly it had been raised. Capital balked at his Venezuelan attitude. Other enemies found minor causes of offence. A more suave and yielding man might possibly have reunited or glossed over these discordant elements. But Cleveland disdained all compromise, and held firmly to his own opinions, while the party behind him was disintegrating in a confusion of many views. They lacked the superb organization which so many years of power had given the Republicans, and which so readily suppressed revolt.

In 1896, the convention which gathered to nominate a Democratic presidential candidate, represented amazingly discordant views. One thing was clear, the silver men were in a heavy majority, and they meant to make the free coinage of silver the main issue of the campaign. A young man delivered a passionate speech upon the subject; and, swept away as by a whirlwind, the delegates deserted all their older leaders and named the orator, William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, to be their standard bearer.

The Populists of the Western States were so satisfied with the nomination, that they endorsed it and made an alliance with the Democrats, whose platform was indeed almost as radical as their own. The Republicans accepted the



PRESIDENT CLEVELAND OPENING THE WORLD'S FAIR AT CHICAGO

THE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

"silver" challenge, declared for "sound money," and reasserting their high protection views, nominated for President William McKinley, the author of their tariff measure.

An exciting and vehement campaign resulted in Mr. McKinley's election by the largest popular majority since the days of Grant. The East utterly repudiated the "silver madness," and even the "Solid South" was broken, West Virginia and Kentucky going Republican.

President McKinley (1897-1901) regarded his election as vindicating his tariff policy, as well as settling the silver question; and he promptly called an extra session of Congress, which re-established a tariff even higher than his own. Silver needed no further legislation to suppress it; deprived of government support, it had already lost still more of its commercial value. The few silver dollars now in circulation would to-day be worth less than fifty cents apiece, were it not that we trust the government to redeem them at the dollar value stamped upon their face.

Cleveland's Hawaii decision was also reversed by the new administration; and the distant islands were welcomed as a territory of the United States, July 6, 1898.

Business tranquillity was by this time restored; and the country had resumed its extraordinary march of prosperity, a prosperity which seems to have convinced even the West that free silver was not so absolutely necessary as its people supposed, and that the sources of our national strength and greatness lie deeper than any metal can be found to reach.



PEARY IN THE ARCTIC REGIONS

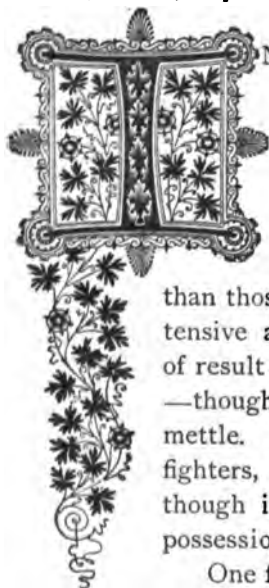


AMERICAN TROOPS BEGINNING THE ADVANCE ON SANTIAGO

Chapter XXIII

THE SPANISH WAR

[*Authorities:* Harper's History of the War with Spain; Johnston, "History up to Date"; Brooks, "War with Spain"; Millet, "Expedition to the Philippines"; Davis, "Our Conquests in the Pacific"; Musgrave, "Under Three Flags in Cuba"; Roosevelt, "Rough Riders"; Spear, "Our Navy in the War with Spain"; Goode, "With Sampson through the War"; Sigsbee, "The Maine"; Cervera, "Spanish-American War."]



IN the second year of President McKinley's administration (1898), our nation was drawn into the Spanish-American war. As this struggle is so recent and its details are so familiar, let us try to estimate the place it will hold in the histories of the future, by comparing it for a moment with our earlier contests.

Its land operations were briefer and less important than those in any of our other wars; but the navy did work so extensive as to rank next to that of the Rebellion, and so pregnant of result as to equal in importance even the glorious battles of 1812—though our sailors had not now opponents so worthy of their mettle. In the astonishing superiority of the Americans as fighters, the war resembled that with Mexico, as it did also, though in a lesser way, in the amount of territory added to our possessions.

One feature, however, has differentiated and distinguished the Spanish war from among all others. It was approved by the entire nation. No party began it, no party voice was raised in opposition. President McKinley, with the trait that so honorably marked our earlier Presidents, the unwillingness to plunge into the horror and heathenism of battle, was almost the last man in the country to give his reluctant assent to war.



THE PRESIDENTS OF THE LAST QUARTER CENTURY

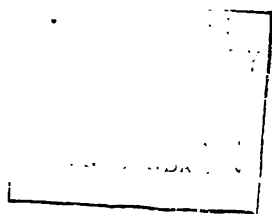
Roosevelt

McKinley

Harrison

Cleveland

Arthur



We fought for justice and to relieve oppression. Foreigners have indeed accused us of having been inspired by a secret lust of territory; but we who were on the spot know better, know that the ultimate consequences of the war were far removed from the feeling with which it was begun.

Let us look back at its opening. Spain, once mistress of most of the western continent, had by her own cruelty and oppression lost colony after colony, until only the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico remained in her power. Cuba, ridden as by an incubus of treachery and theft, was in constant rebellion, the last and most serious uprising beginning in 1895. Spain sent more than two hundred thousand troops to suppress the rebels; but the latter, hiding in the wilderness which Spanish misrule had left to cover a large portion of the island, remained defiant and unconquerable.

In 1896, exhausted Spain determined on severer measures, and sent a new general, the Marquis Weyler, to take command in Cuba. He adopted the murderous policy of "concentration;" that is, all the peaceful inhabitants of the island were compelled to assemble and remain in certain towns, so that they could give no aid to the rebels. The "reconcentrados" thus gathered from the plantations had no food nor means of purchasing any, and the Spanish "butcher" Weyler gave them no help. They were left to starve. They died like flies in a cage, and a protest of horror went up from the civilized world. Our country remonstrated; indeed, Congress would have gone farther, but President Cleveland held back from warlike measures, and induced Spain to promise reform. Weyler was recalled late in 1897, and Marshal Blanco took his place; but by that time over half the reconcentrados were dead.

Spaniards accused us of prolonging the rebellion by our sympathy, and their resentment at our interference became very bitter. On February 15, 1898, the American battleship "Maine," while lying in Havana harbor, was blown up, and sank, carrying down two hundred and sixty-six of her dying crew.

Every one leaped to the conclusion that this was a characteristic Spanish method of revenge; and the anger of the American people was as deep as it was self-controlled. To give passion time to cool, President McKinley ordered an official investigation into the causes of the disaster. The examining court with wise moderation confined itself to asserting only what it felt was fully proved: the explosion had come from the outside, not from any cause within the ship itself. To this day it has never been publicly known what contemptible miscreant was really guilty of the deed of wholesale murder.

In this uncertainty, the President refused to make the destruction of the "Maine" the ground of war; but he united with Congress in notifying Spain that we would permit no longer at our doors such a hideous carnival of crime as was her rule in Cuba, and that, if she did not at once acknowledge Cuban

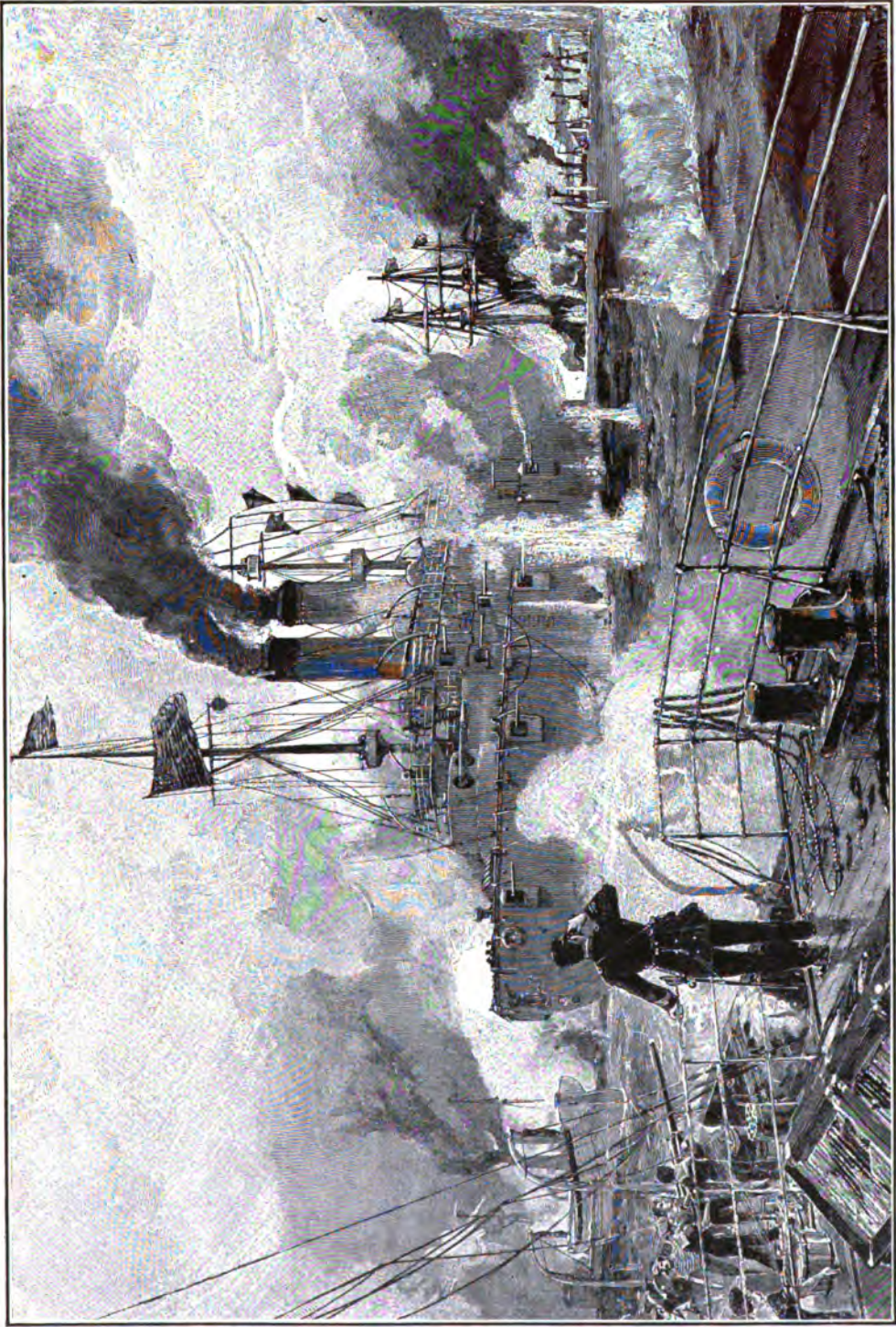
independence, we would lend our strength to the insurgents. This was practically a declaration of war, and Spain accepted it as such by dismissing our minister from her country (April 21, 1898), though she made no formal declaration of enmity until four days later.

Before the blowing up of the "Maine," our government had been totally unprepared for war; after that, hasty preparations began. On April 23, the President called for 125,000 volunteers. He could have had a million had he wished them. One spontaneous outburst of patriotism fired the land. The South responded as promptly as the North; and old Confederate soldiers begged with tears for a chance to strike one blow for the honor of the Stars and Stripes. Among the generals appointed by the President were two Southerners, Fitzhugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler, who had been dashing young cavalry generals in the Rebellion, and who now came forward grizzled veterans, almost too old for battle, but more eager to fight for the Union than ever they had been to strike against it. One regiment of special note was raised by Theodore Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy. He organized a force of "Rough Riders," made up of Western cowboys and of young society men who had learned to ride and shoot as well as the Westerners. Roosevelt gave up his position in the Navy to become lieutenant-colonel of the troop, and to join in the actual fighting.

While preparations were thus being hurriedly made, some of the European nations, especially Germany, showed a disposition to uphold Spain; but England came out promptly with a declaration of neutrality, which would have made interference by the others extremely difficult. So Europe stood apart and watched the struggle.

The first blow was struck in far off Asia. Commodore George Dewey commanded our fleet in Chinese waters and, under orders from Washington, he steamed straight for Manila, the Spanish capital of the Philippine Islands. The entrance to the harbor was lined with mines and torpedoes, and guarded by strong forts; but Dewey trusted that the long submergence of the torpedoes had made them harmless. Moreover, he had to settle the matter promptly some way, for he was among foreign and neutral lands, where he could get no coal for his vessels. So, as when a boy at New Orleans, he had seen his own commander Farragut do, he went ahead despite the torpedoes. His ships slipped by the outer forts in safety during the night; and the early morning of May 1, found them gathered before the city of Manila.

The Spanish fleet in the harbor, while considerably inferior to Dewey's because of its less modern armament, was stronger in number, and when combined with the batteries at Cavite guarding the city, it gave the Spanish forces what seemed a decisive superiority. But when the actual fighting began, the Ameri-



THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY

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cans displayed such accurate gunnery as the world had never known, while their opponents' fire could not have been less harmful had it been deliberately aimed to avoid the Americans.

Dewey, in his flagship the "Olympia," led his fleet of six vessels in a slow circle past the Spanish batteries and ships, keeping up a continuous fire, until after two hours he signalled to his consorts to haul off for breakfast and ammunition. As one captain after another came on board the "Olympia," he would report in a sort of apologetic way that his ship did not seem to have been hit. But when every one had brought the same statement, and it was seen that only one trifling injury had been inflicted upon the entire fleet, men looked at one another in astonishment; they could see how they had battered the enemy. This was not war, it was mere target practice, and after breakfast they returned cheerfully to the cannonade. Two mines had been exploded near the "Olympia," but failed to reach her, and before noon every vessel of the Spanish fleet was sunk, burned, or driven ashore. The land batteries were also crumbling and silent. The Spaniards had lost fully a thousand men; the Americans had none killed and six wounded.

There were several thousand Spanish troops in Manila, but these were helpless should Dewey choose to bombard the city. He waited, however, until an American force could be sent him, with which to take possession. In the meantime, since the "Filipinos" or natives of the islands were, like the Cubans, in constant revolt against Spanish cruelty, he encouraged the insurgents to hold their enemies besieged within Manila. Toward the close of July, ten thousand American troops arrived under General Merritt and aided the Filipinos in blockading the city. There was a little fighting along the lines, a few casualties, the Spaniards made a sudden night attack and were gallantly repulsed, and then Admiral Dewey notified the enemy that they must yield or he would bombard the city. They defied him. The great guns of the ships began to boom, our troops advanced from the trenches, and as soon as fighting was thus actually started, Manila surrendered, August 13.

Meanwhile, the real war was taking place along the Cuban coast. Our government declared a blockade of Havana and its vicinity, and our ships began making prizes of Spanish vessels. The enemy had a powerful navy, but corrupt officials had squandered the money intended for its maintenance, and many of the ships were in no condition for service. Still Spain did manage to send across the ocean a formidable squadron of four flying cruisers and three torpedo-boats, under Admiral Cervera. These might have bombarded almost any one of our feebly defended coast cities. There was much alarm, and our ships were kept scurrying about upon the watch; but Cervera steamed straight to Cuba, and entered the harbor of Santiago.

Here his fleet was discovered and blockaded by a force that rapidly increased, until it contained five battle-ships, two cruisers like the enemy's, and a number of lesser boats. The armament was under the command of Admiral William T. Sampson, and so ably did he maintain the blockade that there seemed little chance of Cervera again having the opportunity to menace our coast.

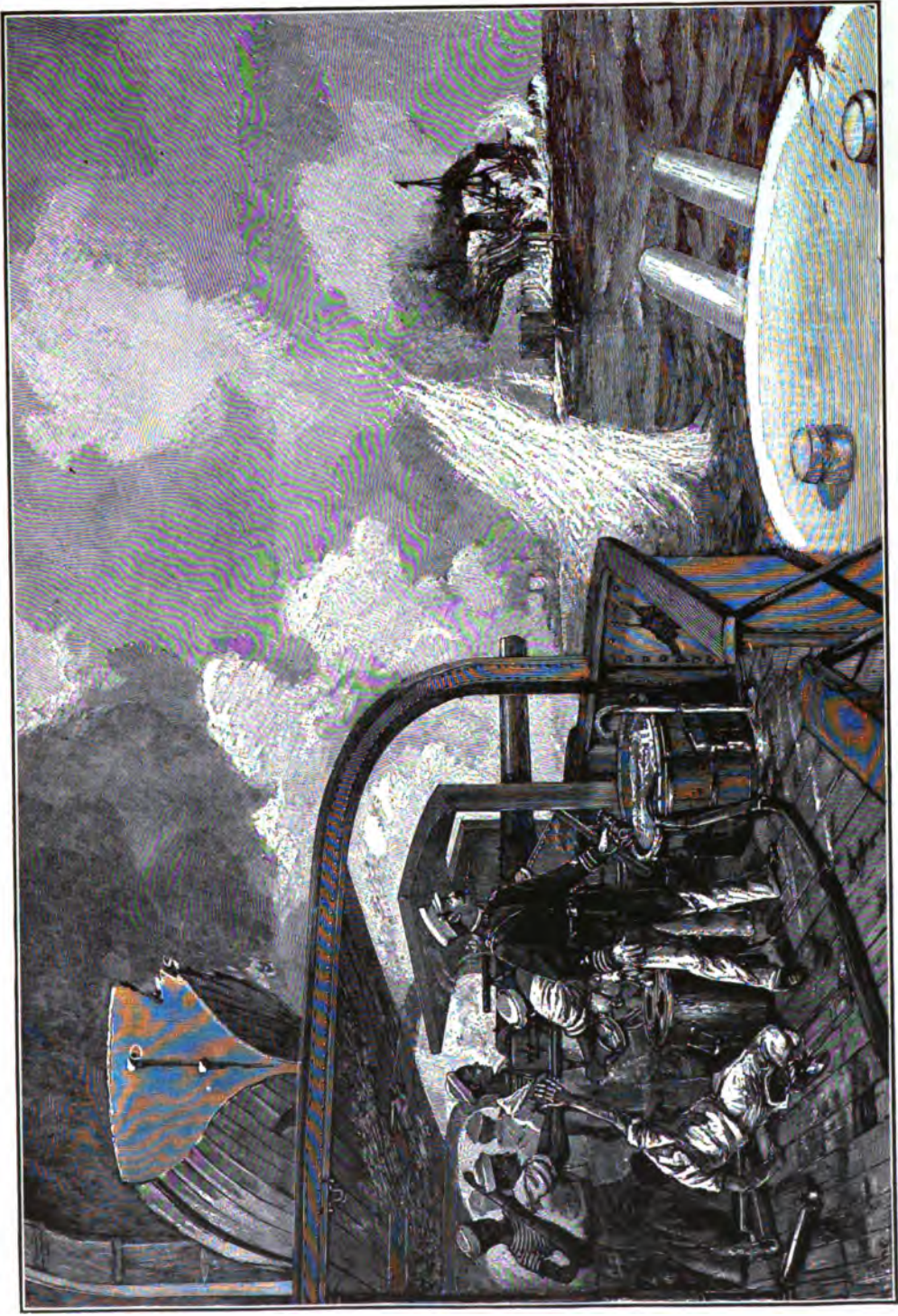
To make his escape impossible, a coal steamer was run into the narrow winding harbor by Lieutenant Hobson and seven men, and an effort was made to sink the hulk where it would block the channel. But the Spanish batteries opened so heavy a fire on the doomed vessel, that she sank a little out of the desired position, and the channel was still free. Hobson and his gallant crew were rescued by the enemy and kept in honorable confinement.

It was now decided to attack the Spanish army in Santiago, from the land side, and capture it and the fleet together. Troops had been rapidly gathering at Tampa in Florida; and some fifteen thousand of these were shipped to Cuba and landed near Santiago (June 23, 24) to fight their way into the city. The work was of the most trying kind. The dry, tropic heat was stifling, the men were in heavy clothes, carrying their full accoutrements. Their course lay through a thick jungle where supplies could not be, or at least were not, sent after them. During each day's exhaustive march, the panting men threw away burdensome coats and blankets; and then in the damp, chill nights, they lay and shivered while the deadly swamp fevers penetrated every pore. Sharpshooters, accustomed to the climate and protected in their hiding places by using invisible, smokeless powder, watched to pick off the invaders as they advanced.

The first serious conflict was at Las Guasimas, where about twenty-five hundred Spaniards attempted to ambush about fifteen hundred Americans, but the latter, Roosevelt's Rough Riders in the lead, charged straight at the foe. The Spaniards fled back to Santiago, and reported in disgust that they had been fighting the whole American army, and that the faster they fired the more recklessly the "Yankee pigs" advanced.

By July 1, the American forces were gathered around the city, and an assault was ordered on the main heights which defended it, El Caney and San Juan. These were defended by stone forts, block-houses, and trenches cut out of the solid rock; while the open slopes were made difficult of approach by many fences of barbed and tangled wire.

Our troops charged with splendid gallantry, falling by hundreds, but pressing ever onward, scaling slope after slope, storming block-houses, breaking fences, driving the enemy from trenches. The battle soon became a very muddled affair, but privates worked without the need of officers. Where they saw a defence, they attacked it; when the stinging bullets told of another hidden



THE PURSUIT AT SANTIAGO

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foe they found him, despite the secrecy accorded by his smokeless powder, and drove him back.

The town of El Caney and the heights of San Juan Hill were both captured that day, Roosevelt himself leading one memorable charge up San Juan. On the morrow (July 2), the Spaniards tried to regain their positions, but were easily repulsed. The total American loss in killed and wounded exceeded fifteen hundred.

The following day (Sunday, July 3), the American commander, General Shafter, demanded the surrender of the city. The Spanish General Toral refused. Admiral Cervera, foreseeing the final result, had already determined to escape with his fleet; and about nine in the morning his vessels, one after another, darted out of the harbor and took to flight westward along the coast. His ships were nominally swifter than the Americans', and Admiral Sampson was at the moment some miles distant with his flagship the "New York." Admiral Schley was thus in technical command; but the fight was in reality a "captains' battle," just as the land struggle had been the soldiers'.

Each ship knew what she was to do, and headed straight for the enemy. Cervera's torpedo-boats were promptly riddled with shot and driven ashore. Two of his cruisers were soon in flames. The other two fled a little farther; but even in speed the United States ships "Brooklyn," "Oregon," and "Texas" outfooted them, while the "New York" was coming up rapidly from behind. First one of the fleeing Spaniards ran ashore in a sinking condition, and then the other followed.

The whole fleet of the enemy was destroyed; but Commodore Philip of the "Texas" added yet further honor to the victory by the quick warning to his men, "Don't cheer, boys, the poor fellows are dying!"

Work as quick, as seamanlike, and almost as daring as that of the battle itself followed, in saving the remnant of the Spaniards from their burning ships. Six hundred of them had perished, sixteen hundred surrendered as prisoners. Then, at last, our men had time to take an account of their own losses. The result was as astounding as in Dewey's earlier victory. This time we had fought against the best kind of modern ships possessing the best of guns, and we had lost—one man killed and two wounded. The ships were practically uninjured.

"Your shooting was wonderful," said a Japanese naval lieutenant who witnessed the fight. "It could not be better. If any one had said before, such a victory was possible, he would have been laughed at." It was indeed the most complete and one-sided victory that has ever been known; and it practically ended the war. General Toral being again summoned to surrender Santiago, consented, though the negotiations took some days, and it was not until July 17 that the American army entered the city.

The surrender came just in time for our troops. Fever had begun its deadly work among them, and many could hardly stand in their places. As rapidly as possible they were transferred north, to hospital camps on Long Island. The mortality there was heavy, as it was also at the unlucky camps in which the volunteers were gathered who never got to Cuba at all. The deaths in the United States proved many times more numerous than those at the seat of war.

The plans of our government expanded with its successes. After the fall of Santiago, the only fear was lest Spain should ask for peace before all her possessions could be seized. The little island of Guam in mid Pacific had already been pounced upon (June 21) by our troops on the way to the Philippines. Its Spanish governor did not even know war had been declared; and when the American guns were fired, he and his staff came out bowing and smiling, thinking it was a salute of honor. He had no force to offer resistance, and Guam and the entire Ladrone group of islands, of which it is the centre, fell undisputed into our hands.

General Nelson Miles, the head of the American army, an officer who had gained fame in the civil war and in much Indian fighting, was sent with several thousand troops to capture Porto Rico. Its capital, San Juan, had already been ineffectually bombarded by our fleet. Miles landed at Ponce, the chief city on the south coast, and advanced northward across the island toward San Juan. There was no opposition worthy of the name, even from the Spanish troops. As for the natives, they welcomed the Americans as deliverers, cheering them at every step. This easy invasion was stopped by the news that a peace protocol had been signed, August 11.

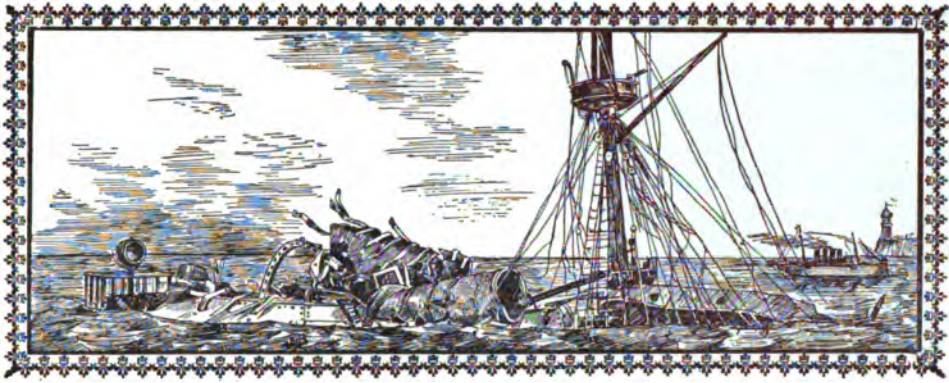
There was, in fact, nothing for the Spaniards to do but submit. They had no navy left worth mentioning, and were thus unable to reinforce any of their colonies. They could not prevent us from conquering these in detail if we chose; and our next step would obviously be that of attacking Spain itself, destroying her cities with our fleets. The terms exacted in the final peace treaty at Paris (December 10, 1898) were that Spain should free Cuba, and that she should surrender to the United States Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, though for the latter we agreed to pay her twenty million dollars. Many of our statesmen thought that we were thus purchasing nothing but trouble, and that the Philippines would have been dear at any price.

Indeed, if the war had been noteworthy for the singleness of purpose with which it began, it was equally remarkable for the diversity of opinions and antagonisms amid which it closed. Dewey was created a full Admiral for his victory at Manila; but over other operations both on land and sea there was an unhappy aftermath of complaints, heart-burnings, and recriminations, suggestive of incompetency in more than one high place.



THE BOMBARDMENT OF SAN JUAN

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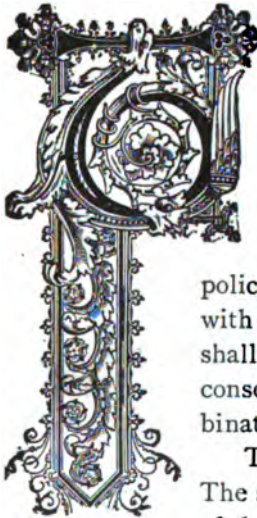


WRECK OF THE "MAINE" IN HAVANA HARBOR

Chapter XXIV

THE NEW ERA

[*Authorities*: The newspapers form as yet almost the only authorities for these important events. Of partial value might be added: Foreman, "The Philippine Islands"; Bancroft, "The New Pacific"; Lala, "Philippine Islands"; Wildman, "Aguinaldo"; McClure, "Life of McKinley."]



THE few years which have elapsed since the close of the Spanish War have brought problems of their own. Questions have arisen so different from those of previous generations, that some of our statesmen have widely proclaimed that America is entering upon a new era. It is to be, they tell us, an age of "colonial expansion," in which we shall be forced to abandon our fathers' policy of isolation, and form close alliances for peace or war with European Powers; an age of "imperialism," in which we shall feel compelled to govern inferior peoples without their consent; an age of "industrialism," in which trusts or combinations shall supersede competition.

These are still burning questions in the hands of our leaders. The sober historian may not pass judgment upon them. Many of the facts have not yet been made public, and much that we might now accept as true, will within a few years be proven the mere fantasy of dream-creating politicians. The historian can attempt no more than a brief statement of the deeds accomplished, leaving the honor or the shame which is their due, to the judgment of the reader and of the eternal future.

The peace treaty with Spain left the American government in a position not unlike that of the "reconstruction period." Once more a Republican

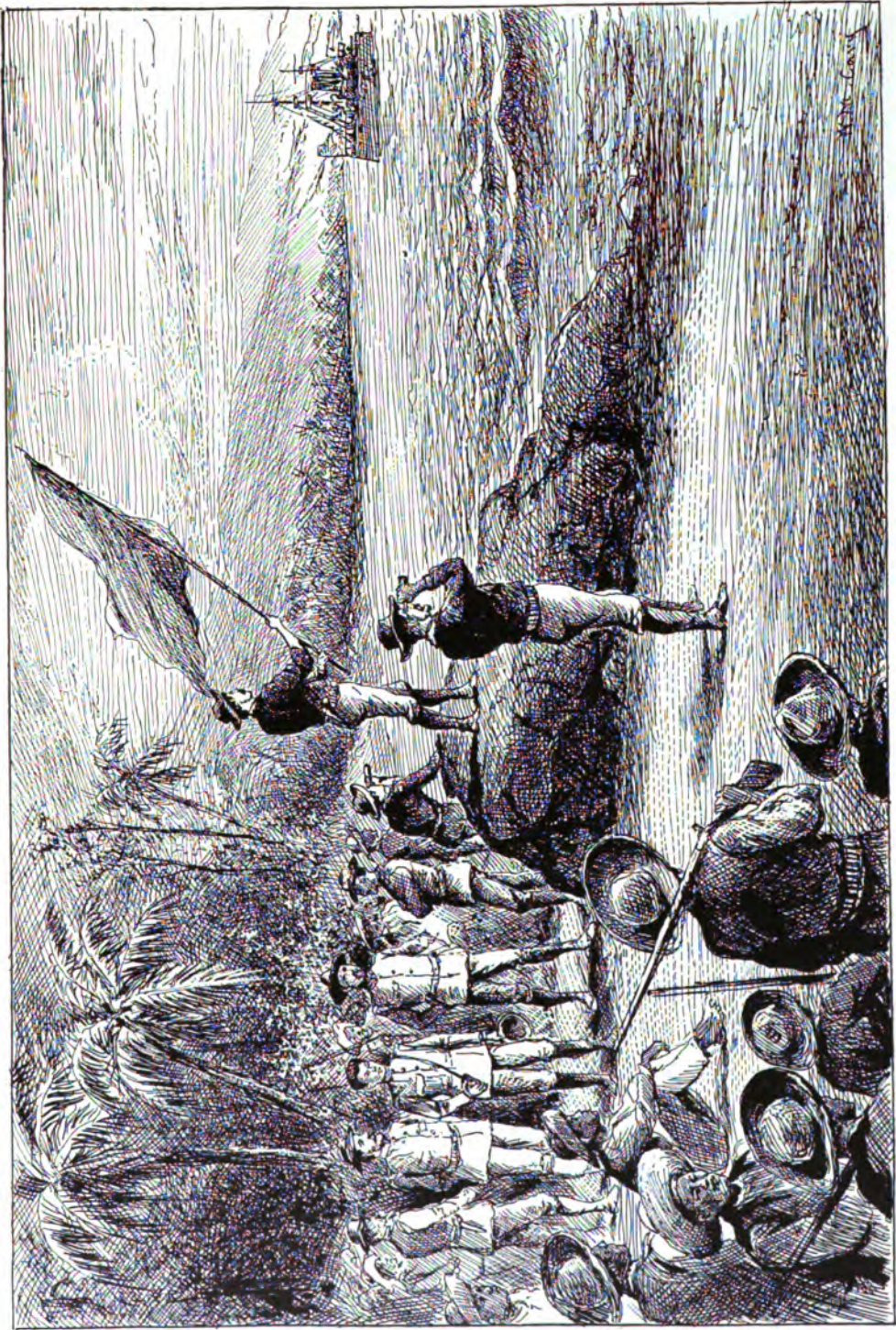
administration, already in power, had to decide what should be done with the spoils of war. With Porto Rico there was little difficulty. The amicable inhabitants accepted our rule gladly. A terrible hurricane devastated the island in 1899, and, coming as a culmination to bad harvests and the inevitable confusion of the transition period, produced great misery. This was alleviated by the direct assistance of our government; and in 1901 the island was fully admitted as part of the United States, trading freely with the rest of the country and governing itself nearly after the manner of our other territories.

With Cuba the question was more perplexing. We had gone to war for the express purpose of securing her independence; yet as we became more closely acquainted with the insurgents, many people doubted their fitness for self-government. The Spaniards who surrendered to our soldiers at Santiago and were sent back to their homes, addressed a letter to the American army thanking it in the warmest terms for generous treatment, and comparing this bitterly with the conduct of the Cubans, whom they declared to be mere savages. Perhaps this was no more than the natural prejudice of long enmity. Our government so adjudged it, and has given the insurgents a qualified independence.

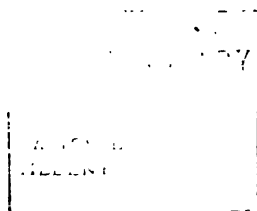
When, under the treaty of Paris, the Spaniards finally withdrew their forces from Havana (December 31, 1898), they yielded their last foothold on the hemisphere which had once been Spain's from pole to pole. They transferred their dominion not to the Cubans but to the United States, and it was the American flag that for a time floated over Havana. General Leonard Wood was appointed military governor of the island, and he did excellent work in restoring peace and prosperity and adding to the civilization of the people.

The Cubans were invited to elect a convention which should construct for them a free republican government. The United States only stipulated that she should stand as protector to the new republic, which must give her coaling stations for her navy, and promise not to declare war without her consent. After some friction, Cuba agreed to the conditions and elected a congress and a president, to whom General Wood turned over the government of the island (May 20, 1902). Thus Cuba is at this moment but little more closely bound to us than any of the Central and South American republics, which count so assuredly on our support. Many people, however, believe that Cuba's semi-independence is but temporary, and that after a brief trying of her wings, she will gladly turn to us and seek admission into the Union.

A much more bewildering riddle confronted the government in the Philippines. When Admiral Dewey sailed for Manila, no one had suggested that we should take permanent possession of the islands. Their inhabitants were in rebellion against Spanish tyranny, just as were the Cubans; and our admiral did not hesitate to make common cause with them. He even brought one of



SIGNALLING THE CAPTURE OF AGUINALDO



their exiled leaders, Aguinaldo, back to the islands, and encouraged him to besiege the Spaniards in Manila.

Backed by the American alliance, Aguinaldo was readily welcomed by the "Filipinos" as their supreme chieftain. At first his projects were limited to the overthrow of Spain through American help; but a circle of shrewd and able men soon surrounded the Filipino leader, and his plans broadened until he looked forward to an independent "republic," with himself as its dictator.

But as we have seen, the American government's plans also expanded, as Spain's power crumbled so utterly beneath its blows. The administration was pledged to Cuban independence; but it was unhampered by promises in the Philippines, and the people there were even less fitted for self-government than the Cubans. As General Merritt and his American troops arrived, they crowded the Filipinos aside. The latter were not even allowed to enter Manila when it was captured, the reason given being that they might prove irrestrainable, and turn to plunder and incendiarism and even murder.

Seeing whither matters were drifting, Aguinaldo and his party determined to forestall the American claim upon the islands. They held an election and on September 29, 1898, gathered in a congress, declaring the Philippines an independent republic with Aguinaldo as its president. Whether there had ever been any considerable party among the natives desirous of American rule, is hard to say. The Filipinos are Malays; and no Malay ever feels the slightest obligation to tell the truth, where a lie appears more serviceable for the moment. Most of the islanders readily proffered allegiance to whoever was nearest, whether Spain, Aguinaldo, or the United States. Presumably their real hearts lay with their countryman, where also their personal advantage seemed most promising.

The American government took no notice of Aguinaldo's announcement. It insisted that the islands belonged to Spain; it purchased them from Spain; and toward the close of the year, General Otis who had succeeded General Merritt in command, received word from President McKinley directing him to announce that we had taken possession of the land, but would at some future day grant the inhabitants all the self-government of which they proved capable.

If the President thought this proclamation would be received with grateful delight, he was mistaken; the Filipinos had by this time progressed so far in their ambitions, that they regarded the announcement as equivalent to a declaration of war. For some time their forces had been forming a circle around ours, so that the American army of ten thousand men was practically besieged in Manila by twenty thousand Filipinos. Our troops were ordered to avoid conflict, and the enemy, translating silence as fear, grew every day more inso-

lent and aggressive. Finally, on the night of February 4, 1899, an American sentinel saw some Filipinos creeping toward him over forbidden ground, and he and his companions shot them. The whole line of the native army broke into clamorous shouting and shooting; volley succeeded volley. The Filipino war, or rebellion if you prefer the word, had begun.

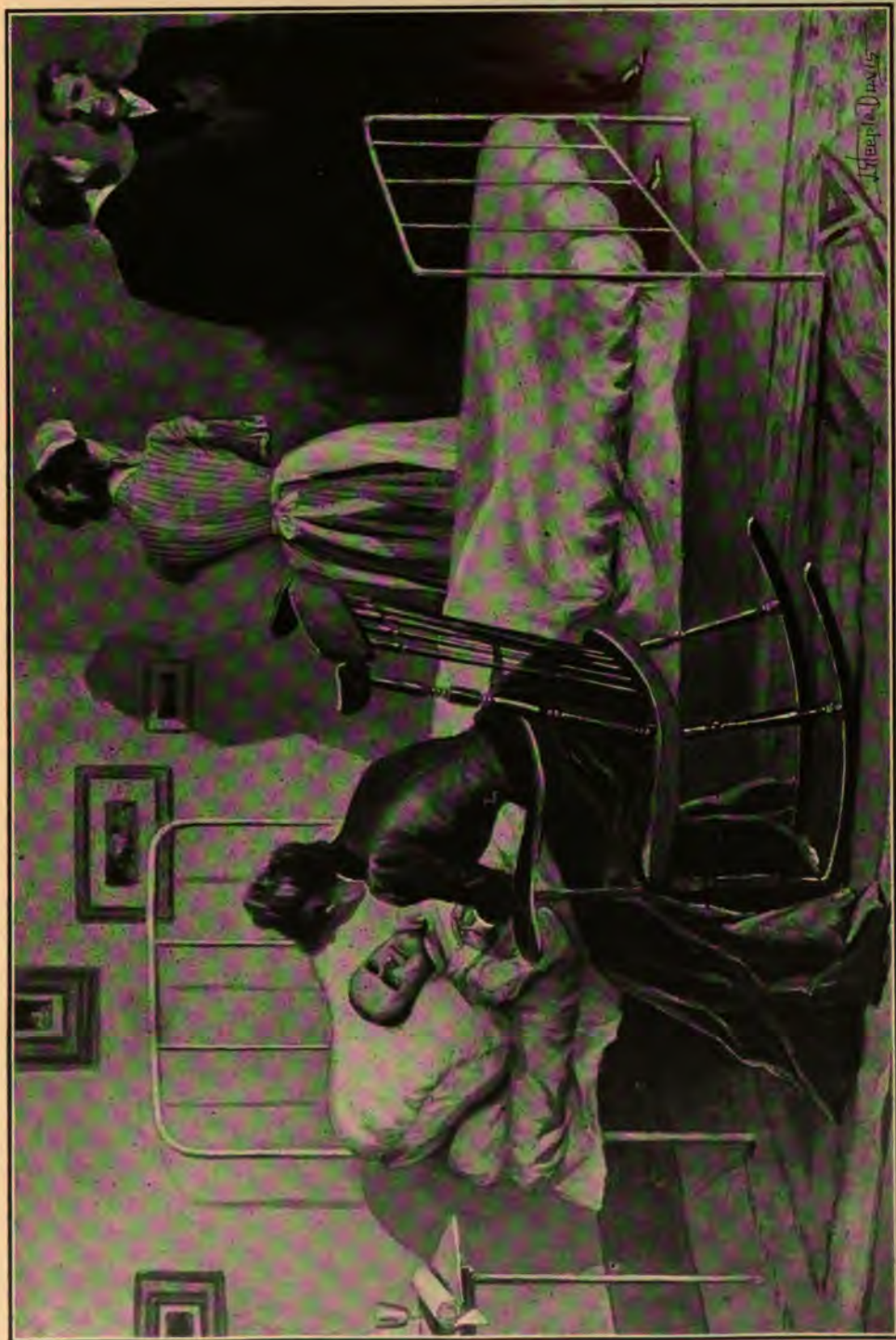
The firing continued through the night, and next day the American troops attacked the enemy with the successful dash and gallantry which they have everywhere displayed. It was not an easy fight; for the Filipinos were behind well constructed intrenchments, protected by wire fences. Their courage failed, however, before the headlong American charge. They could fight Spaniards, they said, but not madmen, and after a sharp resistance they took to flight. General Otis sets our total losses in this "Battle of Manila" at about five hundred men.

Having thus commenced operations, our army was sent forward under Generals McArthur and Lawton. They fought their way from town to town, intrenchment to intrenchment, the Filipinos firing wildly upon the Americans at a distance, and then fleeing as our soldiers charged. Malolos, the capital in which Aguinaldo had established himself, was captured (March 31, 1899). Another capital was established and that also was seized by our advancing troops.

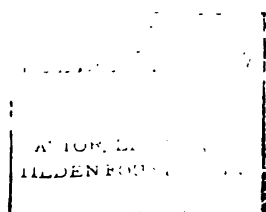
During this period, the Filipino leaders continued printing and circulating through the islands the most extravagant accounts of their own repeated victories, and of the cowardice and brutality of the Americans. The rainy season set in; and our soldiers, unaccustomed to the climate, died by hundreds from its tropic fevers. The army was recalled to Manila, whereon the insurgents promptly reoccupied the abandoned territory, and thus gave color to their boastful reports.

During the summer of 1899, the fighting was once more in the immediate vicinity of Manila, and then, late in the fall, a strong army of Americans made a determined campaign through the entire north of the chief Philippine island, Luzon. This broke the power of the insurgents. Their armies scattered, and Aguinaldo narrowly escaped capture.

The Filipinos set themselves with grim determination to prove that though crushed they were not conquered. Throughout the year 1900 they kept up a guerrilla warfare, in the course of which General Lawton was shot. There was little open opposition to our troops, but wherever we had no garrisons, insurgents appeared, and the very "amigos" who welcomed the American forces, would afterward take shots at their departing backs. General Otis resigned and was succeeded by General MacArthur. Finally, in 1901, definite information was obtained of Aguinaldo's hiding place, and the American general, Fun-



"IT IS GOD'S WAY, HIS WILL BE DONE!"



ston, led a little band of friendly Filipinos from a tribe opposed to him, to secure his capture. They pretended to be insurgent recruits, and having thus secured admission to Aguinaldo's presence, seized him and dragged him to a United States ship (March 23, 1901). This practically ended the war.

As a prisoner, Aguinaldo was easily persuaded that he had been in the wrong; and he wrote a public letter to the Filipinos urging them to surrender, give up their rifles, and put their trust in "the glorious sovereign banner of the United States." Most of his followers seem to have accepted his advice, and except for an occasional little sporadic outburst, we have peace in the Philippines. It has cost us four thousand soldiers' lives, and five hundred million dollars. The entire price we paid Spain for the islands was but twenty millions.

The loss to the Filipinos themselves can never be accurately known. One estimate, probably much exaggerated, places their dead at an eighth of the entire population. What enormous good we are going to do the remainder, which shall justify this sacrifice of American life and wholesale slaughter of Filipinos, still remains to be seen. A civil government, first headed by William H. Taft, is now in authority over the islands and prosperity seems returning to them. Schools are being established under both native and American teachers. But whether the real hearts of the people are becoming ours, or whether they ever will be so, it is difficult to say.

The year 1900 saw also the further advance of the United States as a colony-holding power, by the annexation of the Samoan Islands. We had long exercised a protectorate over these in conjunction with England and Germany, but the friction attendant upon this complicated method of government resulted in an agreement to divide the islands, and America for her share accepted Tutuila with its port of Pago Pago, the best harbor in the group.

In the summer of the same year came the Boxer trouble in China, and we were able to act in concert with the other "Powers." Indeed, we did better than they, for we showed ourselves less severe toward China, persuaded the Powers to reduce the amount of indemnity demanded, and altogether signalized our advent into the world's diplomacy by casting our influence for generosity and peace.

The fall of 1900 found the country involved in another presidential campaign. The Republicans enthusiastically endorsed President McKinley for a second term, and with even more enthusiasm chose as their vice-presidential candidate Theodore Roosevelt, the organizer of the Rough Riders, who had become governor of New York. The Democrats renominated Mr. Bryan and tried to make "imperialism" and "trusts" the issues of the campaign; but their candidate insisted on a reassertion of their support of "free silver."

This made the East as solid against him as it had been in 1896, and once more he went down in an utter Waterloo of defeat.

President McKinley had governed for only a few months of his second term, when he met his tragic fate. A great pan-American exhibition was being held at Buffalo in the fall of 1901, and September 5 was made an occasion of especial rejoicing, as "President's Day." The President delivered to the assembled crowds an address which has been regarded by many as his ablest and most statesmanlike effort. The next day, September 6, as he stood in the great "Temple of Music," receiving the congratulations of the throngs who came forward to salute him, a man approached as if to shake hands, but instead fired two pistol shots into the President's body.

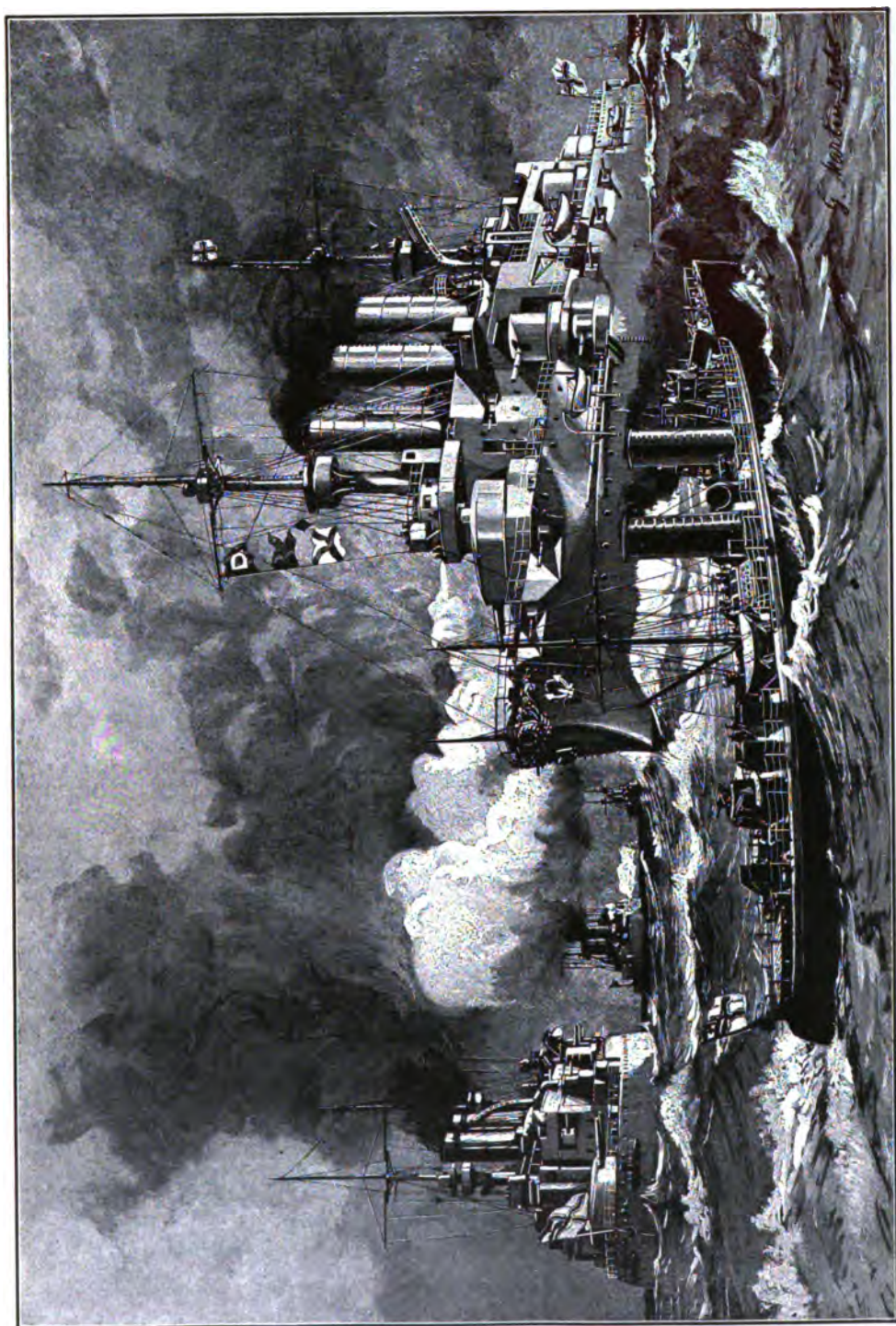
The gay and brilliant scene shifted instantly into one of tumultuous horror. The assassin was seized. The wounded President faced his fate with calmest courage, speaking only of the shock it would bring to his invalid wife. He was hastily removed to a hospital and thence to the Milburn mansion, where for some days he seemed on the high road to recovery. But a relapse set in, and he died in the early morning of September 14, 1901. His last words were addressed to his weeping wife: "It is God's way!" he said simply, "His will be done!"

Vice-President Roosevelt had hurried to his chief's side immediately on receiving news of the attack, but the patient seemed doing so well that Roosevelt was reassured and departed for a hunting trip amid the Adirondack Mountains. There the solemn announcement of the President's imminent death, and his own approaching responsibility, soon followed him. Runners were despatched after him into the wilderness, and he was found by the side of a newly killed deer. A wild thirty-five mile ride brought him to the nearest railroad station, and on the very afternoon of his chief's death, Roosevelt reached Buffalo, and there took the oath as President of the United States.

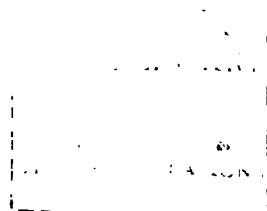
President McKinley's assassin was found to be an anarchist, who gloried in his deed. He was promptly tried and executed, and severe measures were taken against others of his sect. His deed probably did more to stamp out the doctrines of anarchy in this country, than any other method could have accomplished.

President Roosevelt at once announced that he would continue his predecessor's policy. He has been even better than his word, for he has used his high position to lead his party in an attack upon the trusts, he urged forward the Panama Canal treaty, and in the spring of 1903 he established reciprocity with Cuba, and ably engineered our government through another Venezuelan trouble, similar to that of Cleveland's time.

Germany, England, and Italy united in a demand on Venezuela for the



THE GERMAN WARSHIPS OFF VENEZUELA



prompt payment of debts due their subjects. They enforced the request by seizing Venezuelan ships, and Germany even bombarded one of her ports. The United States prepared to interfere if necessary, and all parties requested President Roosevelt to act as arbitrator. He refused, but used his influence with the disputants so that all points which they could not arrange by the aid of our Venezuelan Consul, Mr. Bowen, were finally submitted to the decision of the arbitration tribunal at The Hague.

The difficulty in getting the United States of Columbia to agree to any reasonable form of treaty about the Panama Canal, led to the little state of Panama declaring its independence of the central government. President Roosevelt promptly welcomed the new republic, protected it, and made with it an arrangement by which the canal region has become neutral territory governed by the United States. Work on this most vast of engineering projects has since been rapidly pushed forward.

The presidential election of 1904 resulted in a great personal triumph for Mr. Roosevelt. He was elected over his chief antagonist, Judge Alton B. Parker, by an enormous popular majority and an electoral vote even more decisive. His attitude at once became more positive and assertive. He felt that the American people had approved his vigorous courses of action; and in the government he has since claimed a larger share than any president for many years. This has brought him occasionally into rather sharp antagonism with the Senate, which feels him to be encroaching on its position and its duties, as was made specially evident early in 1905 by the San Domingo affair. The President personally established with the negro republic an arrangement amounting to a protectorate. This the Senate, as the treaty-making power, refused to approve; and the two sides were long in coming to an agreement.

The formal second inauguration of President Roosevelt, Saturday, March 4, 1905, was a brilliant affair, well typifying the vast size and importance to which our country has grown. In the course of his inaugural address he insisted that with our increasing growth we must accept increased responsibilities toward the outside world—a statement generally accepted as foreshadowing the history that is to come.

Warlike, however, this scarce can be. Our eighty million people, the largest civilized nationality in the world, ask nothing but the friendship of the other races, who are beginning to gather round us and recognize our might. Let us aim to be their guide along only such pathways as we are sure will lead both them and us to prosperity, to honor, and to the highest attainments of a Christian civilization.



THE SIOUX ATTACK ON MAJOR RENO

CHRONOLOGY OF THE UNITED STATES



AD. 986—Bjarne Herjulfson probably saw America's coast. 1000—Lief Ericson explored New England. 1492—Columbus discovered San Salvador. 1497—John Cabot discovered the mainland of the United States. 1498—Sebastian Cabot explored it. 1513—Balboa discovers the Pacific. De Leon lands on the Florida coast. 1521—He attempts its settlement. 1528—Narvaez explores Florida. 1539-42—De Soto explores the Mississippi Valley. 1540—Coronado explores the far West. 1562—French settlement attempted at Port Royal. 1565—The Spanish settle St. Augustine, and destroy Port Royal. 1578—Drake explores the Pacific coast; Frobisher attempts a colony in the far North. 1579-84—Sir Humphrey Gilbert tries to colonize Newfoundland. 1585-87—Raleigh's unsuccessful colony at Roanoke. 1598—Santa Fé settled.

1606—Organization of the Virginia Company. 1607—First permanent English settlement at Jamestown. 1608—Champlain settles Quebec. 1609-10—The "starving time" in Virginia. 1610—Second settlement of Jamestown under Lord Delaware. 1614—The Dutch establish trading stations in New York. 1618—Prosperity of Virginia begins under the Puritans. 1619—Creation of the Virginia House of Burgesses; introduction of negro slavery; the shipload of wives. 1620—The Pilgrims start the settlement of New England at Plymouth. 1622—The First Indian Massacre in Virginia. 1626—Peter Minuit purchases Manhattan Island and makes it the Dutch capital in America. 1630—The great Puritan emigration to New England begins, the colony of Massachusetts Bay founded. 1634—King Charles I. commences the



GENERAL WASHINGTON AND HIS MOTHER

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quarrel with the colonists; Massachusetts talks of independence; the Catholic settlement of Maryland. 1635—Connecticut settled. 1636—Rhode Island settled. 1637—The Pequod War. 1643—Formation of the league of the New England colonies. 1649—Passage of the Maryland toleration act. 1664—New York taken from the Dutch by an English fleet. 1673—Marquette and Joliet explore the Mississippi. 1675-76—King Philip's War desolates New England; Berkeley's Rebellion in Virginia. 1681—Settlement of Pennsylvania begun by Penn. 1684—The Massachusetts Charter declared void. 1686—Andros made governor of New England. 1688—Officials of the Stuart kings expelled from the colonies.

1689—Beginning of the wars with the French in Canada. 1690—First colonial congress at Albany seeks to form a union against the French. 1691—End of the Leisler Rebellion in New York. 1689-1713—French wars, Indian raids and massacres. 1733—Settlement of Georgia, the latest of the colonies. 1744-48—Third French war. 1745—The Massachusetts militia captures Louisburg. 1753—Washington despatched to order the French out of the Ohio valley. 1754—Beginning of the French and Indian War; building of Fort du Quesne; Washington besieged at Fort Necessity; second colonial congress at Albany. 1755—Braddock's defeat; expulsion of the Acadians; battle of Fort Edward. 1758—Amherst captures Louisburg. 1759—Wolfe captures Quebec. 1760—Montreal surrenders to Amherst. 1761—King George III. enforces the navigation laws against the colonists. 1763—End of the French and Indian war; Canada ceded to England; Pontiac's war.

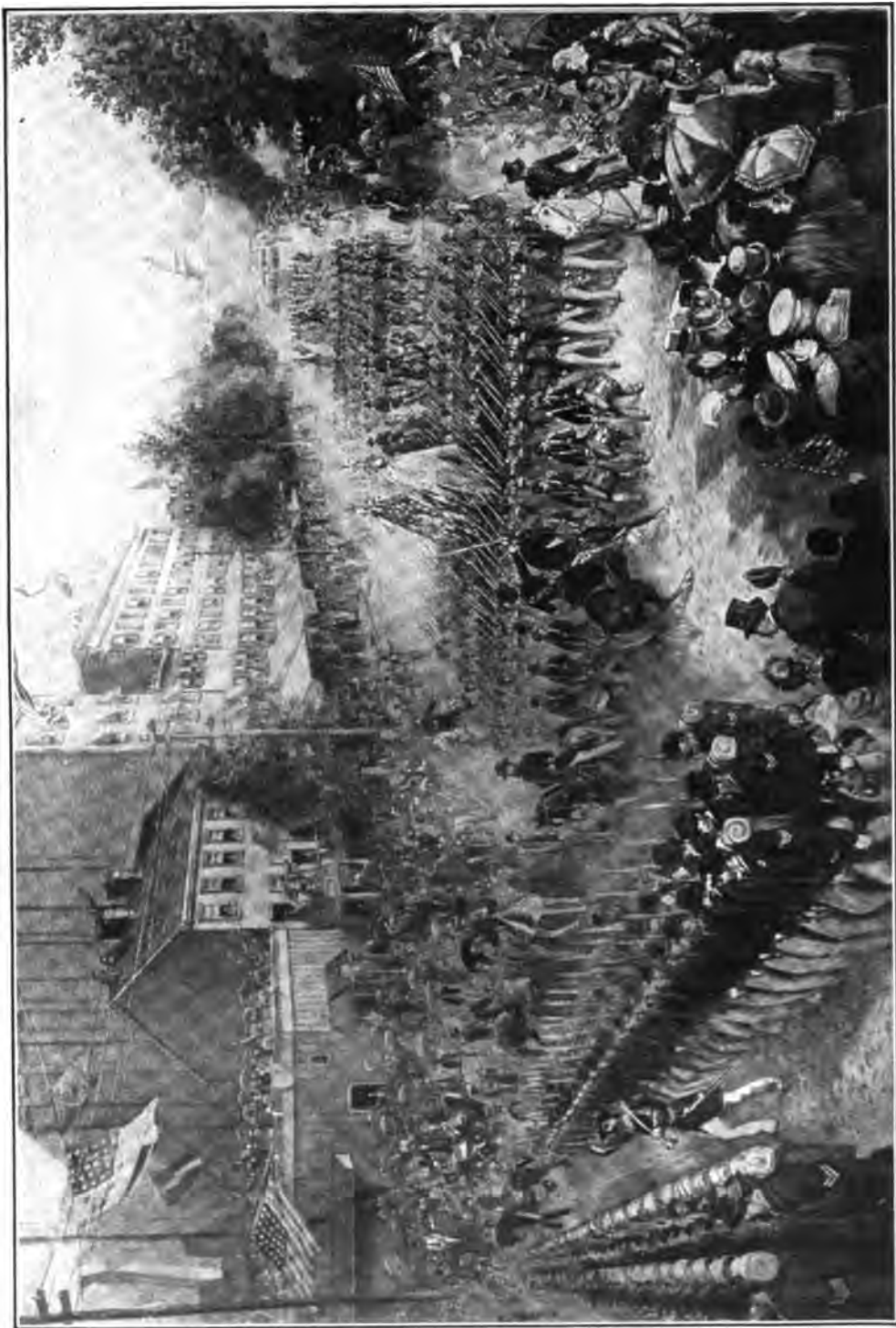
1765—The English Parliament passes the Stamp Act and the Quartering Act; colonial non-importation agreements. 1766—Repeal of the Stamp Act. 1767—Tax laid on tea and other articles; non-importation agreements renewed. 1770—The Boston Massacre. 1773—Attempts to force tea upon the colonists cause rioting; the Boston tea party. 1774—Parliament passes the Boston Port Bill and other punitive measures; meeting of the "First Continental Congress" at Philadelphia. 1775—(April 19) The fight at Lexington and Concord; meeting of the "Second Continental Congress," which continued in session through the Revolution; battle of Bunker Hill; Washington assumes command of the American forces; a disastrous expedition against Canada. 1776—The British driven from Boston, repulsed at Charleston; (July 4) Declaration of Independence; battle of Long Island; British occupy New York; capture of Fort Washington; flight of the American troops across New Jersey; (December 25) Washington captures the Hessians at Trenton. 1777—Washington's victory at Princeton; he winters at Morristown; Burgoyne advances from Canada; Howe defeats Washington at Brandywine Creek and captures Philadelphia; Burgoyne, repeatedly defeated, surrenders his army at

Santiago; land campaign, battles of San Juan and El Caney (July 1, 2); flight and destruction of Cervera's fleet (July 3); invasion of Porto Rico; peace protocol (August 11); surrender of Manila (August 13); peace treaty of Paris (December 10).

1899—Establishment of an American military government in Cuba; beginning of the Filipino war (February 4); battle of Manila; capture of the Filipino capital; terrible hurricane in Porto Rico; an autumn campaign crushes the open resistance of the Filipinos in Luzon. **1900**—Annexation of Tutuila in the Samoan Islands; the Boxer outbreak in China; re-election of President McKinley. **1901**—Capture of Aguinaldo almost extinguishes rebellion in the Philippines, establishment of civil government there and in Porto Rico; the shooting of President McKinley (September 6), his death (September 14). **1902**—United States military government ended in Cuba, which becomes an independent country. **1903**—The Venezuelan trouble with Germany, England, and Italy; independence of Panama recognized. **1904**—Canal treaty ratified; presidential election. **1905**—Inauguration of President Roosevelt.

DATE OF ADMISSION OF THE STATES.

1. Delaware....December 7, 1787	8. South Carolina...May 23, 1788
2. Pennsylvania.December 12, 1787	9. New Hampshire..June 21, 1788
3. New Jersey..December 18, 1787	10. Virginia.....June 26, 1788
4. Georgia.....January 2, 1788	11. New York.....July 26, 1788
5. Connecticut...January 9, 1788	12. North Carolina...Nov. 21, 1789
6. Massachusetts..February 6, 1788	13. Rhode Island....May 29, 1790
7. Maryland.....April 28, 1788	
14. Vermont .....1791	30. Wisconsin .....1848
15. Kentucky.....1792	31. California .....1850
16. Tennessee.....1796	32. Minnesota.....1858
17. Ohio .....1803	33. Oregon.....1859
18. Louisiana.....1812	34. Kansas .....1861
19. Indiana.....1816	35. West Virginia.....1863
20. Mississippi.....1817	36. Nevada.....1864
21. Illinois .....1818	37. Nebraska .....1867
22. Alabama .....1819	38. Colorado.....1876
23. Maine .....1820	39. North Dakota.....1889
24. Missouri.....1821	40. South Dakota.....1889
25. Arkansas .....1836	41. Montana.....1889
26. Michigan .....1837	42. Washington.....1889
27. Florida.....1845	43. Idaho .....1890
28. Texas.....1845	44. Wyoming.....1890
29. Iowa.....1846	45. Utah.....1896



THE GRAND PEACE REVIEW AT WASHINGTON IN 1865

W. H. H. L.
ALDEN FOUNDATION

PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

President.	State from which elected.	Date of inauguration.	Age.	Party.	Electoral vote.	Principal opponent.	Party.	Electoral vote.	Vice-President.	State.
1 George Washington. (second term)	Va.	1789	57	Federalist.	69	None. . . . .	. . . . .	0	John Adams.	Mass.
2 John Adams.	Mass.	1797	62	Federalist.	132	None. . . . .	. . . . .	0	John Adams.	Mass.
3 Thomas Jefferson.	Va.	1801	58	Dem.-Rep.	71	Thomas Jefferson.	Dem.-Rep.	68	Thomas Jefferson.	Va.
(second term) . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	73	John Adams.	Federalist.	65	Aaron Burr.	N. Y.
4 James Madison.	Va.	1809	58	Dem.-Rep.	162	Cotesworth Pinckney	Federalist.	14	George Clinton.	N. Y.
(second term) . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	122	Cotesworth Pinckney	Federalist.	47	George Clinton.	N. Y.
5 James Monroe.	Va.	1817	59	Dem.-Rep.	128	DeWitt Clinton	Independent	89	Elbridge Gerry.	Mass.
(second term) . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	183	Rufus King.	Federalist.	34	Daniel Tompkins.	N. Y.
6 John Quincy Adams.	Mass.	1825	58	Nat'l Rep.	331	None. . . . .	. . . . .	1	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	84	Andrew Jackson	Democrat	99	John Calhoun	S. C.
7 Andrew Jackson.	Tenn.	1829	62	Democrat	178	Wm. H. Crawford.	Democrat	45	. . . . .
(second term) . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	219	Henry Clay.	Nat'l Rep.	37	. . . . .
8 Martin Van Buren.	N. Y.	1837	55	Democrat	170	John Quincy Adams.	Nat'l Rep.	83	John Calhoun	S. C.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	219	Henry Clay	Nat'l Rep.	49	Martin Van Buren.	N. Y.
9 William H. Harrison	Ohio.	1841	68	Whig.	234	Wm. H. Harrison.	Whig.	73	Richard Johnson.	Ky.
John Tyler.	Va.	1841	51	So'th'n Wh.	170	Hugh White.	States R'g'ts	26	John Tyler.	Va.
James K. Polk.	Tenn.	1845	50	Democrat	170	Martin Van Buren.	Democrat	60	. . . . .
Zachary Taylor.	La.	1849	65	Whig.	163	Henry Clay	Whig.	105	George Dallas.	Pa.
Millard Fillmore.	N. Y.	1850	50	Whig.	163	Lewis Cass.	Democrat	127	Millard Fillmore	N. Y.
Franklin Pierce.	N. H.	1853	49	Democrat	254	Winfield Scott	Whig.	42	William King.	Ala.

PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES—Continued.

President.	State from which elected.	Date of inauguration.	Age.	Party.	Electoral vote.	Principal opponent.	Party.	Electoral vote.	Vice-President.	State.
15 James Buchanan.	Pa.	1857	66	Democrat.	174	{ John C. Fremont. Millard Fillmore.	Republican. American	114 8	John Breckenridge.	Ky.
16 Abraham Lincoln.	Ill.	1861	52	Republican 180		{ John Breckenridge. Stephen Douglas. John Bell.	South. Dem. North. Dem. Union.	72 12 39	Hannibal Hamlin.	Me.
(second term)					212	Geo. B. McClellan.	North. Dem.	21	Andrew Johnson.	Tenn.
17 Andrew Johnson.	Tenn.	1865	57	War-Dem.		Horatio Seymour.	Democrat.	80	Schuyler Colfax.	Ind.
18 Ulysses S. Grant.	Ill.	1869	47	Republican 214		Horace Greeley.	Liberal Rep.	63	Henry Wilson.	Mass.
(second term)					286	Samuel J. Tilden.	Democrat.	184	William A. Wheeler.	N. Y.
19 Rutherford B. Hayes.	Ohio.	1877	54	Republican 185		Winfield S. Hancock.	Democrat.	155	Chester A. Arthur.	N. Y.
20 James A. Garfield.	Ohio.	1881	49	Republican 214						
21 Chester A. Arthur.	N. Y.	1881	51	Republican		James G. Blaine.	Republican.	182	Thomas Hendricks.	Ind.
22 Grover Cleveland.	N. Y.	1885	48	Democrat.	219	Grover Cleveland.	Democrat.	168	Levi P. Morton.	N. Y.
23 Benjamin Harrison.	Ind.	1889	55	Republican 233		{ Benjamin Harrison James Weaver.	Republican. Populist.	145 22	Adlai Stevenson.	Ill.
Grover Cleveland.	N. Y.	1893	56	Democrat.	277	William J. Bryan.	Democrat.	176	Garret A. Hobart.	N. Y.
24 William McKinley.	Ohio.	1897	54	Republican 271		William J. Bryan.	Democrat.	155	Theodore Roosevelt.	N. Y.
(second term)					292					
25 Theodore Roosevelt.	N. Y.	1901	42	Republican		Alton B. Parker.	Democrat.	140	Charles Fairbanks.	Ind.
(second term)					336					



THEODORE ROOSEVELT RECEIVING THE SUMMONS TO THE PRESIDENCY



PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY FOR THE UNITED STATES

Alamo (ah-lah'mō)	Houston (hūs'tōn)
Antietam (ăn-tē'tām)	Jalapa (hah-lah'pah)
Appomattox (ăp'ō-măt'ōx)	Joliet (zhōl-yā')
Balboa (băl-bō'ă)	Kaskaskia (kăs-kăs'kī-ă)
Barbary (bah'r'bă-rē)	La Salle (lă-sahl')
Beauregard (bō'rē-gahrd)	Louisburg (loo'-ē-bürg)
Bjarne (bě-yarn')	Luzon (loo-zōn' or loo-thōn')
Bonhomme Richard (bōn-ōm-rē-shahr')	Malolos (mah'lō-lōs)
Buchanan (bū-kăn'ăn)	Manassas (mă-năs'ăs)
Buena Vista (bwā-nă-vē'stă)	Marquette (mahr-kět')
Burgoyne (būr-goin')	Massasoit (măs-ă-soit')
Cabeza de Vaca (kă-bă'thă-dă-vah'kă)	Menendez (mă-něn'děz or dēth)
Calhoun (kăl-hoon')	Minuit (mīn'oo-īt)
Canonicus (kă-nōn'ī-kūs)	Montcalm (mōn-kahm')
Carteret (kahr'tě-rět)	Moultrie (mool'trī)
Champlain (shăm-plăn')	Narvaez (nahr-vah'ěz)
Chapultepec (chah-pool'tă-pěk)	Oglethorpe (ōgl'thōrp)
Cherubusco (chă-roo-boos'kō)	Pakenham (păk'ēn-ēm)
Chickamauga (chīk-ă-mau'gă)	Palo Alto (pah'lō-ăl'tō)
Contreras (kōn-trā-răs)	Pensacola (pěn-să-kō'lă)
Cyane (sī-ahn')	Perote (pā-rō'tě)
D'Allyon (dīl-yōn')	Pinzon (pīn-thōn')
Decatur (dě-kă'tūr)	Ponce (pōn'thă)
De Gourgues (dě-goorzh')	Pontiac (pōn'tī-ăc)
Du Quesne (doo-kăn')	Porto Rico (pōr'tō-rē'cō)
Fremont (frě-mōnt')	Pueblo (pwā'blō)
Frobisher (frōb'ish-ēr)	Resaca de la Palma (rē-sah'kă-dă-lă-pahl'mă)
Frontenac (frōn-tě-năk')	Ribault (rē-bō')
Genet (zhě-nă')	Roanoke (rō'ă-nōk)
Ghent (gěnt, g as in get)	Rochambeau (rō-shăm-bō')
Guam (gwahm)	San Jacinto (sahn-jă-sīn'tō)
Guerriere (gērri-ī-air')	San Juan (sahn-hoo-ahn')
Hawaii (hah-wī'ē)	Santa Fé (săn-tă-fă')

Santiago (săn-tě-ah'gō)

Seward (soo'ěrd)

Shiloh (shī'lō)

Sioux (soo)

Steuben (shtoi'běn)

Stuyvesant (sti'vēs-ănt)

Talapoosa (tăl-ă-poo'să)

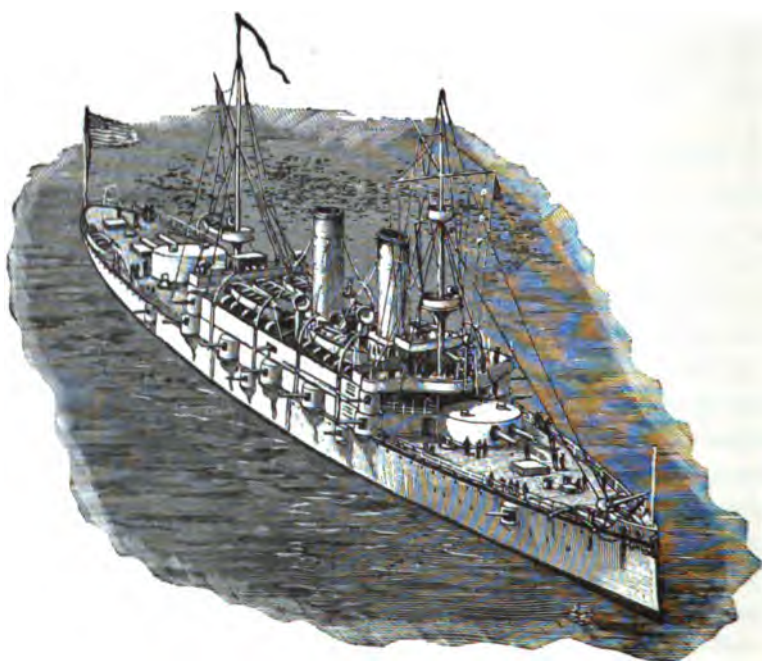
Tecumseh (tě-kum'zě)

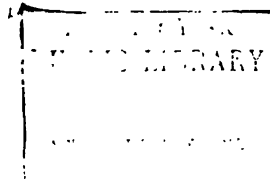
Thames (těms)

Tippecanoe (típ-ě-kă-noo')

Vera Cruz (vā'ră-krooz)

Vincennes (vīn-sěnz')



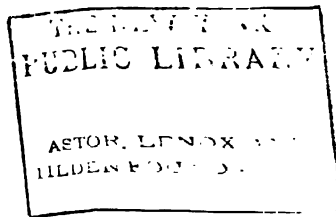




Edward J. Ellis.



Charles F. Horne







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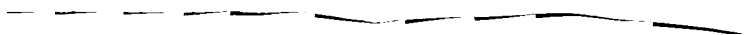
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